175
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/For additional information on the cultural history and foreign relations of the Ainu, see category 116, pp. 23-81/.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan NB3

PART ONE

THE EARLY PERIOD OF Clan Government

E 175

INTRODUCTION

The *SHS*[1] delimits this period[1] from 1582 when Kakizaki Yoshihiro was received in audience by the Regent Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who recognized the Kakizaki family as independent of the control of the Andō clan in the Ōu region, until 1799 when Eastern Ezo came under the direct control of the Bakufu. Seventeen years after the audience with Hideyoshi, Kakizaki Yoshihiro was received (1599) by the Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu after which he changed his name to Matsumae Yoshihiro. In 1604, with a decree of enfoefment from Tokugawa Ieyasu, Matsumae established his own clan. However, I would prefer to predate this period to 1514 when Mitsuhiro, the great-grandfather of Yoshihiro, moved into Fukuyama and became the *de facto* ruler of Ezo. This marks the time when the mainlanders in Ezo united under the Kakizaki family and when the Kakizaki were entrusted with the care of Ezo by the Andō clan. Although this earlier date is some eighty-five years prior to the establishment of an independent Matsumae fief and while the Kakizaki were only deputies of the Andō in Ezo, nevertheless it is from this year that "colonial" activities begin in Hokkaidō for it was the first time Japanese immigrants in the area were united.

E A 648 175

On the other hand relations between Japanese and natives do not necessarily date from this time. There are attempts to trace the history of Ainu-Japanese relations from mythological times because the name *Koshi no Shima* [Island of the Koshi] can be found among the "many islands" listed in the ancient chronicles. This is unsubstantial evidence. However, it is commonly held that the term *Watarishima* [Island across the water] which frequently appears in the *Saimeiki* [Chronicle of the Empress Saimei, A.D. 654–661] represents Hokkaidō. If this identification is exact then it can be stated that by the seventh century the political power of the central government of Japan had already been extended to the island of Hokkaidō. For, in A.D. 659 Abe no Omi, on his second northeastern expedition campaigned against the Ezo in Watarishima and established a government post at Shiribeshi. It should be noted that this expedition had for its purpose the occupation of Watarishima as a foothold from which to watch and oppose the *Sukushin* (then the *Bakkatsu*) tribes which were threatening our northern boundary by advancing south along the shores of the Japan Sea.[a]

E [101]

[1] *SHS* 2: 2-3 [i.e. Revised History of Hokkaidō - ANALYST]

[a] *Sukushin* (*Su-shen*) or *Bakkatsu* (*Mo-ho*). Very old names for the Tungusic Ju-chen of the area between the Sungari River and the sea. These people dominated the continental shore of the Japan Sea in antiquity and frequently raided the northwest Japanese seacoast and the islands thereof

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3

PART ONE

The Early Period of CLAN GOVERNMENT

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175
C48

This is an example of Zoepfel's so-called, "administrative territory outside of the nation used for achieving world policy aims" and with this example our colonial activities in Hokkaidō may be said to have started. We know that this use of Hokkaidō as an outpost continued for some years for, in January of 720 during the reign of the Empress Genshō, six people including Watarishima and Tsugaru government officials were sent to Bakkatsu.[2] There are many facts from authentic records prior to the ninth century which show that the government of Japan endeavored to appease and protect the native Ezo [3] and that the powerful Ezo of Watarishima, receiving favors, often brought tribute to Kyōto.[4] We have only one record of their rebellion in this period. A report from the Governor of Dewa in 875, during the reign of the Emperor Seiwa notes that savages from Watarishima, commanding eighty vessels, massacred and looted the farmers of the Akita and Akiumi districts.[5] On the other hand, the record shows that in 878, during the reign of the Emperor Yōzei, when the subjugated natives of Dewa revolted, the Watarishima Ezo offered the use of their arms to

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from Tsushima to Sado. Later known generally as the *Tōi*, a fact which leads to some interesting speculations, since *Tōi*, or "Eastern barbarians" was picked up from the Chinese language by the Japanese and used to denote the *Emishi* in writing. The fact that the Japanese wrote of their own aborigines with a word the Chinese used for continental peoples may illustrate nothing more than the vagaries of borrowing in languages but the long and intimate contacts of the riverine peoples of Manchuria with Northern Japan cannot be overlooked. An added clue to connections between ancient Japan and the continent lies in the connection between the Tungus of the North and the creation of the states of ancient Korea. One of these states was Shiragi and for no apparent reason the family records of the ruling clan of Hokkaidō—the Matsumae clan—are called the *Shiragi no Kiroku* or Records of Shiragi.

[2] *Shoku Nihongi* [The further chronicles of Japan] 8; entry under the year 720.

[3] During the expedition of Abe no Omi it was thought that feasting was the best method of appeasement. We know that those who paid tribute were highly remunerated and presented with gifts. In March of 697 brocade skirts, dark red and deep purple silk, and axes were presented to an Ezo, Inarimushi, and to a Sukushin, Shirashuesō. The native policy of those days was to obtain obedience through entertainment and submission by gifts to those who paid tribute.

[4] *Fusō Ryakuki* [Abridged history of Japan] section of August 716 during the reign of Genshō. *Shoku Nihongi*, Imperial Rescript of Kobo No. 36 during the reign of Kōnin. *Ruijū Sandai Kaku* [Miscellaneous ordinances of three reigns] No. 19 in June 802 during the reign of Kammu. *Nihon Isshi* No. 111 of same date. Also *Dajōkan Fu* (Decree of the Great Council of State).

[5] *Sandai Jitsuroku* (Authentic record of the reigns of three emperors) 27, section of November 875 during the reign of Yōzei.

[P. 10 (B)]

A E 175 648

the government [6] in suppressing the revolt. Facts can be listed which show that the policy of the government of Japan, in this period, was aimed not only just at taking political and economic control of the natives, but also at developing their culture and that this policy was comparatively successful.

However, when, in the middle of the Heian [794–1192] period, the control of the central government began to disintegrate, Hokkaidō was left wholly in the hands of the powerful Abe family who ruled the area as though it were a foreign land and who negated the earlier policies. The Abe also discontinued the tribute of the Ezo to Kyōto. There are practically no noteworthy historical materials on native or colonial policy for this period. More detailed materials are available only after the Matsumae gained their independence which means that in this latter period the number of mainlanders settling in Hokkaidō increased and that these immigrants enjoyed the power to engage in their individual activities. Because of the gap in historical materials the time of the beginning of the independence of the Matsumae is taken as the foundation period for the study of native policy in Hokkaidō, as distinguished from the policy toward the natives of Ōu. There are no records to show exactly when mainlanders began migrating to Hokkaidō.[7] However, it seems that at the beginning the majority were castaways [8] who were unable to return, in addition to those who came to trade and to fish and who later settled the island, and those who were exiled. Their numbers were small and their power weak and, therefore, it is probable that they were assimilated, politically and socially, into the native society and had no independent activity. In later years, to escape the perils of war and famine in Honshu and particularly in the Ōu region, the number of immigrants gradually increased and we can see a conscious and separate settlement. Nevertheless, even these later immigrants were considered as of the Ezo notwithstanding the fact that the *Suwa Daimyōjin Eshi* [*SDE*] and other records distinguish them from the aborigines of Hokkaidō by calling them *Watari To* [Watari group].[b]

[6] *Ibid.* 34, section of March 878 during the reign of Yōzei.

A [172]

[7] Recent archaeological investigation has revealed many remains said to be those of the Ainu in Hokkaidō but which do not belong to the Jomon culture. Instead they closely resemble the remains of the Nara period [710–794]. See Gotō Moriichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru kofun shutsudo no ibutsu kenkyū (Study of the remains from old tombs in Hokkaidō), *Kokogaku Zasshi* 24 (2–3). It is probable that these remains were brought into Ezo in or about this period. *SHS* 2: 12–14 and 24.

[8] That there were a considerable number of these can be seen from the fact that in 1688 a crew exploring the shores of the Ishikari River counted a number of castaways who had married natives and settled among them.

A [162] [101]

[b] There may be a reason for considering these immigrants as of the Ezo. Chronologically and territorially there are three distinct historical divisions of the Ezo. There are the *Koshi* who dominated much of prehistoric Japan, then the later *Kai* who dominated the Northeast, and finally the Ezo or Ainu of Hokkaidō, Karafuto, and the Kuriles. But in the days of the *Koshi* and then the *Kai* there were further distinctions. Ezo

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
AE 175 C48 A [1977]

The *Watari To* seem to have had a social organization similar to the aboriginals of Hokkaidō, that is, not far advanced from a primitive communal society. This may be because the *Watari To* were basically Japanized Ezo from Ōu. Those of the Yamato race who were among them seemed to have adapted themselves to the lives of the Ezo or were in the process of so doing.

In later years the campaigns between the imperial families and the military families extended to the Ōu region and, as a result of continuous warfare among the great clans, those who looked forward to new opportunities in a new world moved into Hokkaidō. These later immigrants are clearly distinguished from the Ezo. They not only lived as Japanese, but had an advanced state of social organization—the feudal.

Those with power built forts called *Yakata*, ruled over the people within their territory and eventually came under the control of the Andō clan of Tsugaru. The Andō were related to and successors of the Abe as feudal lords of the north.

In 1456 the area between Shiokubisaki in the east and Atsusabu Kawa in the west became the central area of settlement for the mainlanders. Although they lived among the Ezo from Mukawa in the east to Yoichi in the west, they tended to settle at points along the coast.[9] The cause of this movement may be explained on the same grounds as those which guide our national development southward. However at this stage there is still no significant native policy. It only becomes of significance when the Matsumae unite the mainlanders and present a solid front of opposition to the natives. The expansion of the immigrant colonists was bound to come into conflict with the interests of the natives. The immigrants were mostly fishermen. In those days, when commerce was undeveloped, the rulers depended for their livelihood on taxes in kind collected from these fishermen, else at times the clans themselves were obliged to engage in fishing, as pointed out by the author of the *Ezo Koku Shiki* [Private Records of the Ezo country].[10] Therefore, as the number of im-

A [162] [101]

who were either captured or who voluntarily accepted Japanese rule were called *ifu* while Japanese who married Ezo or who left the Japanese limits to accept Ezo life and rule, and there was a surprising number of these, were called *fushū*. Therefore, it is logical for old Japanese records to consider a group as of the Ezo and yet separate from them.

[9] *Shiragi no Kiroku* (copy in the Hakodate Library), 15.

[10] *Ezo Koku Shiki* says, "In those days when the Matsumae came to the country there were no officials on duty there and no vessels from other countries but only a few ships from Zennan Bu and Tsugaru and, because there were no houses as today, only a few fishermen. When a vessel did enter port the crew would stay at the homes of retainers and managers, there being no inn and they would depart as soon as they had completed their business, so there was but little exchange. From early times to today cultivated land has been scarce, the topography being mountainous. Ground rent was left unpaid and the warriors engaged in fishing. . . ." The record goes on to illustrate how, regardless of rank or caste, all engaged, during the herring season, in fishing. "In the homes of retainers and stewards even the women and servants, leaving

E A [221]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Aimu AB6
Early Japan AB3
AE 175 648
EA 628 175 648

migrants increased, so did their fishing areas and this clashed with the vested hunting and fishing rights of the natives. It also seems that, at first, owing to inferiority in numbers and power, the immigrants tried to avoid conflict with the natives, but as the immigrant activities increased collisions became inevitable.

The first clash is reported as occurring in 1456 when a blacksmith of Kajimura (the present Hakodate) got into an argument with an Ezo chieftain and killed him. In revenge the aroused natives massacred the immigrants. In the following year a chieftain, by name Koshamain, attempted to assault Fukuyama. The natives were so powerful that settlement after settlement fell into their hands. The immigrants were driven out of all their bases and those who escaped from the slaughter assembled at Matsumae and Kaminokuni and, with the aid of Takeda Nobuhiro, the founder of Kakizaki power, were just able to retain a foothold. This is the turning point when the relations between immigrants and natives became serious. The record shows other incidents such as those in 1471 and 1501. During these incidents Japanese forts were either lost or damaged and the only base able to stand against the natives was that of the Kakizaki. Gradually the Kakizaki unified the Japanese on Hokkaidō and grew into the dominant power on the island. In 1514 the Kakizaki after moving into Fukuyama were entrusted by the Andō with the management of Ezo affairs which, in effect, made them the real power on the island. With this power Kakizaki made a concerted effort to suppress the natives. However, disputes continued, occurring in 1515, 1525, 1529, 1531, and 1536, the natives remaining powerful and the mainlanders, who were on the defensive, resorting to such tactics as feigning peace and then striking by surprise.[11] But the Japanese eventually emerged as victors.

The Kakizaki were finally able to secure a sizeable area around their base of Fukuyama and, perceiving the disadvantage of continuous fighting, changed their policy to one of reconciliation and, in 1550, Suehiro, grandson of Nobuhiro, made peace with the various native tribes by offering them treasures which they cherished and thus won their favor. Suehiro appointed Hashitain from Setanai as chief of west Ezo, stationing him at Amanogawa in Kaminokuni, and Chikomotain from Shiriuchi was appointed chief of east Ezo. To both chiefs were distributed the tax levied on the merchants who came into the country. Rules were also established concerning the navigation of merchant vessels in Ezo waters. In order to show respect to these chiefs, merchant vessels were ordered to lower their sails and stop when passing off the coast at Kaminokuni and Shiriuchi.

EA [226]

the old and feeble behind, went to the beaches and, together with the warriors and merchants, devoted themselves to fishing." The samurai with their families engaged in herring fishing for years after that.

[11] *SHS* 2: 57-58.

114 181 knew how to make earthenwares, the latter period of Barbarism[11] or according to Müller-Lyer the period of the advance from the highest hunting stage.[12] But the Ainu living in the period we are about to study led a much more advanced life.

177 648 The Ainu were not an isolated people. In the north they came into contact with the nomadic Orokko and Gilyak on Karafuto. A strong Manchurian influence was introduced through trade with the Santan across the sea while Karafuto itself was, in effect, a Manchurian colony exerting influence on the Okhotsk coast of Hokkaidō.[a] To the south the Ainu were continuously in contact with Japanese culture.[13] If it is true, as common opinion holds it to be, that the *Watari To* mentioned in the *SDE* were Ezo who moved from the Ōu region,[14] then the influence of Japan dates back more than a millennium and in fact recent excavations tend to prove this.[15] However, communication between the Ezo and the Japanese had been frequent even before that; that the Ezo were strongly influenced can be seen [172] from the discovery of both Jomon and Yayoi earthenwares in Ezo regions.[16] To the east the Ainu had, from early times, been in contact with the natives of the Kuriles and Kamchatka.[17] The most dominant influence of all of these culture contacts was the Japanese, with the Manchurian second. Japanese culture was higher than the others and the Ainu were in contact with it over a longer period of time and they were closer to the Japanese central government. Japanese contacts with the Ezo were not limited to the southwestern regions but extended also to Sōya and Akkeshi and even to Karafuto and the Kuriles. Under these diverse 177 influences the economic culture of the Ezo gradually improved. The introduction of vegetable fibre cloth [291] completely changed the clothing habits of the Ainu and, while cotton when first imported from Japan was used

[11] Morgan, *Ancient society*, 10.

[12] Müller-Lyer, *Phasen der Kultur und Richtungslivie des Fortschrittes.*

[101] [a] Santan was a catch-all word used to denote both the continental area across from the island of Karafuto and the people in that area. It comes from *Janta* or "nomads" a Gilyak name for the nomadic tribes who lived between the Amur River and the sea. The Ainu corrupted *Janta* into Santan and the Japanese picked up the term. The Gilyak lived in the Amur estuary area. Orokko is the Ainu term for the Manchurian tribes that lived on Karafuto. See J. Harrison, Kita Yezo Zusetsu or a description of the Island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsō, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 99 (2): 96-97, 1955.

[13] Yonemura Kioe, *Kitami Kyōdo Shiwa* (Local history of Kitami), 12.

[14] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu Kenkyū* (Ainu studies), 367 ff.

[15] Kōnō Hiromichi, Hassabu mura no iseki hakkatsu ki (Report on the excavations of the ruins at Hassabu) and Takakura Shinichirō, Hassabu mura no iseki ni tsuite (On the excavations at Hassabu), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10.

[16] *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei*, 21 [Jomon and Yayoi are type names for the stone age pottery of Japan].

[17] Torii Ryūzō, *Kyokutō Minzoku* (Races of the Far East), 304-310.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER IV

BATTLES WITH THE JAPANESE

In writing about Mr. Anra, the haunted man, I had occasion to mention his persecution by supposed giants, dwarfs and Japanese warriors. I had never before heard of a race of giants from these people, and until some definite tradition is forthcoming, one can not treat of them. But the warriors and dwarfs are different matters. For in all probability, traditions concerning these, and hereditary instinct, among other things, suggested these beings to his subconscious mind, and formed the basis of his mania.

That the two races, the Japanese and Ainu, were not on friendly terms at the beginning is natural and is proved by oral tradition as well as by ancient Japanese records. Besides reading of massacres in olden times, we are told of many hard contested battles between the two peoples. There are quite a number of mounds to be seen in the north of Japan which are said to contain heaps of the bones of those unfortunate Ainu who were slain in battles there. We read that the aborigines made very determined resistance against the invaders for many centuries after the latter had established themselves in Yamato, and we can very well believe this to have been so. The Ainu were a brave race and very fierce withal. In the year A.D. 720 they are said to have made so strong and determined an attack on the Japanese as to render it necessary to call out the soldiers of no less than nine Provinces to keep them back. In the end, however, they were effectually checked in an assault on the Japanese stronghold and driven back to the north of Sendai.

648
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2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

148 Records inform us that in the year A.D. 776 many
173 of the Ainu chieftains about the northern barriers, which barriers were ever being pushed gradually back, made a great assault on their hereditary foes. They fiercely attacked a fort near Sendai and were so determined in their efforts that at last they took it with all the munitions and supplies stored there. Moreover, they killed the commandant and nearly all the garrison, and spread terror right and left throughout the country as far south as Tokyo, which was at that time known as Musashino. Many terrible battles were fought on land and sea, the victory sometimes resting on one side and sometimes on the other. But in the ninth century the terrible age-long conflict was brought to a close, the victory resting with the Japanese. In the year 855 a civil war broke out among the Ainu, and this so weakened them that when they rose again in 878 it was comparatively easy to deal with them. Since that time the Ainu have not given much trouble and are now a thoroughly subdued people and most loyal to their Japanese conquerors. Some of the chiefs who submitted are said to have become *daimyō*, and doubtless there were many inter-marriages of the two races, as in Hokkaidō at the present time. There are undoubted, ineffaceable traces of this mixture to be seen today throughout the old parts of the Japanese Empire.

158 When in his fits of madness, Anra, as was shown
155 in the last chapter, supposed himself to be effectually slaughtering enemies in the shape of Japanese warriors, clothed in ancient armour. On such occasions he was "up and at 'em." He meant to avenge the slaughtered dead and to defend his own hearth and home on the top of his little hill. When a child, he had seen both his father and mother, and perhaps his grand-parents too, doing the same kind of thing and hearing the same sounds, as his wife also had done and died. Doubtless, too, he uses the same old sword which

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
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CHAPTER V

THE AINU AND OROKS AT WAR

One day, when we were staying at Hakodate, we had Chief Penri with us. On a certain afternoon he went out and returned in a very wrathful mood, "for," said he, "I have just met an *Orokata* (*Orok*) who was very rude to me." "Oh," I replied, "who was he and what has he been doing?" "The beast! He didn't do much," he replied, "but his manner was very condescending and his speech most haughty." "Oh, is that all?" I said. "No," he said, "it isn't. He actually had the impudence to offer me tea to drink!" (Penri of course wished for *saké!*) In this little incident we find another echo of the past, for the feelings these two worthy men exhibited toward one another were of quite a hereditary nature.

The Ainu of Saghalien have for untold ages been in close contact with the Orokata, or Oroks, as they are now called in brief, and their traditions give us to understand that they were not always on very friendly terms with each other. The Yezo Ainu from of old knew of the Oroks, and Chief Penri had no good word to say about them. The Orok tribe, as the legend now to be cited will show, used reindeer as beasts of burden, and not dogs, as the Ainu did.

"There were six Ainu gentlemen who had their homes at Taraika. One of them one day went to visit the Oroks, who he found kept a big herd of reindeer (*Cervus Tarandus*). Upon entering one of their houses, he sat himself down by the hearth, and his host expressed great pleasure at meeting him. He set before

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
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him for food the stomach of a reindeer, well besmeared with what he took to be filthy stuff, unfit to be eaten.* The gentleman was greatly offended and utterly refused to touch it. And he very soon went back to his home in Taraika, where he told the other five gentlemen what had happened.

"The Ainu then went up to the place where the Oroks dwelt, to a village called in their tongue Unei, and slew all the people living there, both male and female. But as it happened, just one young man escaped to the herd of reindeer, mounted one, and made off as fast as he could go. He arrived at a certain village and reported to the people what had happened.

*We are told that the Oroks are very fond of reindeer stomach cooked and well besmeared with the half-digested matter taken from the inside. Hence the Oroks in this instance had no intention of insulting their Ainu visitor, but rather they desired to honour him with the greatest delicacy in their power for his dinner. But, owing to not being used to such food and through lack of knowledge concerning Orok customs, the man took great offence and went home and told his friends about it. They, too, got so worked up over the matter that they made it a *casus belli*.

I will make a digression here in order to show how I myself once made Chief Penri very wrathful by transgressing a law of etiquette.

I was one day very busy in the hut, packing up my goods preparatory to taking a journey to Hakodate, and was placing the things in a mat ready to roll up. Penri, in his eagerness to help and please me, would persist in bringing me just such articles as I did not wish to take and at last I told him that unless he desisted I would roll him up in a mat also. The old man immediately flared up in anger and I was much troubled at this. I could not tell why he should be in such a fury, till Mrs. Penri informed me that to tell another he would roll him up in a mat meant to say that he would bury him! I quickly apologized and made him understand that I by no means meant that. I was then told that the Ainu buried their dead rolled up in mats. I informed him that we knew nothing about that, as our customs were quite different. The incident closed very happily and the poor old fellow kissed my hand! I allowed him to help all he could and the next time I came to Piratori gave him some dried fish.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Gold RX3

Upon hearing the news, they made themselves many arrows and prepared themselves for war.

"By and by the winter came and some of the Ainu people of Taran took their lines and went fishing through holes made in the ice. Suddenly there appeared, coming down from the lake, a great bunch of reindeer. The Oroks rode them, carrying on their backs quivers well filled with arrows. They rushed suddenly upon the Ainu who were fishing, and, taking them unawares, shot at them as they were busy holding their lines at the ice holes and killed them all. But there was one man there doing nothing; he was idle and empty-handed. This man rushed off post haste to Taraika. Although the pursuing man rode a swift reindeer after him, he was unable to overtake him. Just midway between Taran and the mouth of the river at Taraika there was a grave in which a man had been buried. To this the fleeing man rushed, wrenched the lid* off the coffin, and took out a bow covered with thin layers of bone and two arrows which had been put in with the corpse.** These being now in his hands, he tightened the bow string and placed one of the arrows in readiness for the approaching Oroks who were seeking his life. As they came nearer he drew the bow against them. But the string snapped, so that it was quite impossible for him to defend himself further. Then the Oroks shot their arrows at him and killed him.

* The coffins were left with the tops above ground.

**Thus, then, we have it clearly stated that in olden times the Northern Ainu did, some of them, bury in coffins, and also that they did not always break the bows and arrows before placing them beside the corpse, in both of which respects they differed from the Ainu of Yezo. Some of the bows of the best kind which were used by the Saghalien Ainu had thin slithers of bone, like those used by the inhabitants of the Amur region, twisted round them. This, I believe, was for ornamentation as well as to strengthen them. In Yezo the bark of the cherry tree was so used, and they looked very pretty.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
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"When it was dark, the Oroks came to the village of Shishka. The Ainu living here occupied earthen houses. As soon as they arrived, they entered the enclosure round the houses and threw much lighted grass down the smoke holes.*

"The inside of the dwellings burnt fiercely, as a very great deal of lighted stuff had been thrown into them through the smoke hole in the roof. They then tore off the chimney coverings so as to make the fire stronger, and they also pushed burning grass through the doors. The whole of the village, together with its people, was burnt up. Every single being was slain.

"After this the Oroks went off to the village of Taraika where the aforesaid six Ainu gentlemen dwelt. But upon arrival they found all six of them encased in armour and keeping careful watch night and day. Seeing them so prepared and keeping such strict watch, the enemy took fright and went off across the lake. They came to the village of 'The Cape' (*Notoro*), where they gave battle. After that they passed along the shores of the 'Bay of Patience' (*Tan-atui*) and came to Karere. Here also they found the Ainu dwelling in earthen houses. They set fire to the dwellings by pushing lighted grass down the smoke holes and so burnt all completely down. They killed all the men as they crept out of the houses but carried away the

A [342]

*Although I have stated again and again that the Ainu formerly used pit-dwellings, especially during the winter months, there are still many Japanese of the present day who contradict this. But, as has already been mentioned, who is here written is in strict accordance with ancient Japanese history. Moreover, the old legend now cited actually tells us that they really did so. Of course, the smoke caused by the lighted grass would very soon drive the household out into the open and make all an easy prey to their enemies.

The pit-dwellings all had small holes left in the roof for the escape of steam and smoke, but besides these there were chimneys so constructed that they could be tightly closed when the weather called for it. They covered these from the outside. These coverings the Oroks tore off to make a greater draught. It was a cruel war and they were in deadly earnest.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Gold RX3

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648

women into captivity, where they married them. Yes, they seized the Ainu women of Karere, married them, and had children by them." And so this war came to an end.

The legend tells us that the Taraika gentlemen were dressed in armour. The word used for "armour" is *kusari*. The *kusari* were coats made of cords and nets covered thickly with adhesive mud or clay well dried in the sun. Sometimes the foundation consisted of salmon skin. Rather bad for wet weather warfare, I should imagine! I have also heard of coats covered with stones tied on with string used as armour. Ainu bows were often made of yew, and though short were quite strong.

After reading this story we may well expect to find a great blood relationship between the Ainu and Oroks. In fact, it is said by themselves that they no longer fight with one another because they are so closely related. Neither likes to begin a fight, they say; yet, "if our friends over yonder desire to begin a quarrel, we are always ready to fall in!"

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

customs of the present Ainos and Japanese. But on the other hand, if we seek to discover Japanese influences changing the habits and improving the condition of those Ainos who have lived in close contiguity with Japanese in Yezo for the last hundred years, we must confess that the signs of it are scarcely noticeable. The Aino in close contact with Japanese civilization remains, intellectually and otherwise, as much a savage in culture to-day as he ever could have been. It is true that some Japanese tales have found their way into Aino folk-lore, and a Japanese hero, Yoshistune, is reputed to have taught them useful arts. They number among their household treasures old Japanese swords and curios, which have been handed down from past generations. They now use Japanese knives instead of stone implements and metal arrow-heads in place of flint. But it is scarcely a century since they emerged from the stone age, and otherwise they have not passed beyond it.

We have here a remarkable instance of the close association of two distinct races, one superior and powerful, the other degraded and weak, working together day by day, living in contiguous villages, intermarrying more or less, and yet, after a century of such intimacy, as distinct in their character, habits of life, superstitions and beliefs as though they had never come together. The Aino has not so much as learned to make a reputable bow and arrow, although in the past he has had to meet the Japanese, who are famous archers, in many battles. It is a most remarkable example of the persistence of distinct types together, when the conditions are apparently favorable for the absorption of one by the other. The Ainos, being unable to affiliate more closely with the Japanese, remain distinct and apart, and are therefore doomed to extinction from the face of the earth.

As regards the evidence of place-names of Aino origin in Japan, a reference to Professor Chamberlain's valuable monograph shows that they are very widely distributed, even so far south as Kiushiu. Only a few examples will be quoted here to indicate the character of the evidence, the full strength of which can be brought out only by careful philological studies, such as the author named above has most ably carried out. Japanese geographical names are written with Chinese characters, which even the learned can not pronounce correctly without the aid of a geographical dictionary. These characters have meanings which may or may not throw light upon the origin of the name. For example, Otaru is an Aino place-name, meaning "sandy road." The reading of the Chinese characters is "small cask." Many examples of this kind show that the meaning of the Chinese characters may be very misleading. In the following list will be found a number of names illustrating the very absurd meanings in Japanese, and the Aino derivations proposed by Professor Chamberlain.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

out the pole leaving the hand. They have wonderful sight for fish under water. Their dexterity is induced by their using the spear almost from infancy. You can not go on the river any day during the salmon-trout season, provided the water is clear enough, without meeting brown urchins of all sizes prowling along the steep banks in small canoes, or crouching on fallen tree-trunks, peering down through the interstices of masses of driftwood, with their spears ready to dart at the fish. It is very pretty to see the men chasing the fish in their canoes, in which they stand upright and guide back and forth by using the blind end of their spear pole, at times making sudden rushes with cries of excitement to head off a fish; at others allowing the canoe to float down with the current, while they scan every inch of the water to detect a passing or stationary fish, with their spears poised at arm's length above the head ready for a strike, standing often on the gunwale of the canoe in order to get a downward view into the water. Their positions often in such cases are grand, while their features, worked up to the highest expression of expectancy, make a most animated picture of savage life. The Aino seems then really in his element, even more so than when, mounted bareback on a horse with only a rope halter, he is seen flying over plain, swinging a lasso around his head, driving a herd of half wild ponies toward a corral.

Mr. Blackiston describes a peculiar method of catching salmon, as follows:

On the Kaminokuni River I found the people preparing salmon weirs, which they build of stakes, brush, and mats, funnel-shaped, near the bank in such a way that most of the fish must pass through them. At night they squat alongside, having a gaff fitted to a pole, limber at its end. This they keep on the bottom or allow to drift along the bottom inside the weir, and when they feel a fish jumping over the stick, suddenly jerk it toward them and so gaff the salmon.

Another form of spear, double-headed, is also shown in Fig. 85. This two-headed spear is used for spearing seals, whales, turtles, and large fish. The two bone or iron barbs are merely pressed on the tips of the shaft, so as to be readily disconnected and left in the body of the animal. They are screwed to the ends of a tough strip of hide, to the middle of which is attached the long braided rope. The shaft is 11 feet in length and has a crotch at the end over which the line passes.

It is customary to poison the heads for seal fishing. The manner of using this spear is shown in Plate CIX, taken from a Japanese drawing. Here and there along rapid streams the Ainos build dams of stone and brush wood, which cause the water to flow through narrow apertures with unusual force. Just below these openings large flat platforms of boards are placed. The fish, swimming up the current, reach these dams, and in attempting to pass the obstructions some of them fail, and the force of the water throws them upon the platforms, where the fisherman easily secures them. The native fish-nets are made of the strong twisted linden bark. The fisheries of the coast are very important, but as conducted now they can scarcely be regarded as an Aino industry, since they are controlled by the Japanese who engage the Ainos in the work. Immense numbers of herring are converted into an excellent fertilizer, which is shipped to enrich the soil of the main island, and even tons of the beautiful and valuable salmon-trout, or spring-salmon, as it is called on the west coast of the United States, are each year utilized for the same purpose.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a prism. The different huts of Piratori vary in size, but not in type. The larger ones cover an area of about sixteen or eighteen feet square. Most of them, however, do not measure more than ten or twelve feet square. Benry's house was exceptionally large, and being such a "swell" one, two rough *kinna* (mats) were spread on the floor and a number of Japanese rice boxes and *shokuji* tables[1] adorned one side of the dwelling. Over these were hung a number of swords, knives, etc., most of them with no blade at all, or with only a wooden one. The few old blades which Benry possessed were of Japanese workmanship, probably obtained by the Ainu in their former wars with the Japanese. A few Ainu spears and arrows with bone and bamboo poisoned points were fastened to the roof.

These Ainu of Piratori have frequent intercourse with the Japanese, who get from them furs and other articles in exchange for *sake* or a few worthless beads. A few half-castes are also found at Piratori. The Piratori Ainu, with those of Volcano Bay, as we have seen, are those best known to the civilised world, as a few foreigners have travelled so far to see them. I may mention that as types the inhabitants of Piratori are a great deal better than the residents of Volcano Bay, most of whom are half-breeds; but even they themselves cannot be taken as fair specimens of their race, for they have adopted several customs and habits of the Japanese, which the incautious traveller has then reported as purely Ainu customs. For instance, the pure Ainu diet consists almost entirely of fish, meat, and seaweeds. Only occasionally are the roots of certain trees eaten. At Piratori I found that many grow and eat millet, and corn and bad rice are also sometimes procured from the Japanese. Benry has also gone so far in the way of civilisation as to invest his small fortune in buying half-a-dozen hens and a cock, with whom he shares his regal home. These hens lay eggs according to custom, and Benry and his "wife" eat them. As the Ainu language has no special word for this imported kind of bird, they are known by the name of "kikkiri."

After the experience which I had had at Horobets I decided to be more careful with my sketching. I broached the subject

[1] Small Japanese dinner tables.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

collectively, are called by the Japanese "The Hokkaido." The nearest of the Kuriles to Yezo is Kunashiri, and south of it lies the smaller island of Shikotan; then comes Etorofu, the largest of the group; then Urup; after this a number of unhabited islets, reefs, and rocks form a barrier separating the Otkoshk Sea from the Pacific Ocean. Shimushir, at the south-western end of this barrier, and Onekotan, at the north-eastern, are the two largest, Shimushir being about thirty miles in length and four or five wide, and Onekotan about twenty-five miles long and eight wide. Paromushir (a corruption of the Ainu words *poro*, large, and *mushiri*, island) is the last island of the group. It has a large reef on its south-east coast, and is divided by a channel six or seven miles wide from Cape Lopatka, the most southern point of the Kamschatkan peninsula. Paromushir is about twice the size of Urup, and is very mountainous, with rugged cliffs of volcanic formation, and high picturesque peaks, bearing the same characteristics as the scenery in Etorofu and Kunashiri, and also of Kamschatka. I have mentioned this last island, as it is of some interest, being the most northern point of the Japanese empire; and also to a certain extent it is interesting from a geological point of view, but, as far as I know, it is not inhabited now, and the few Kurilsky Ainu who formerly lived there migrated further south from one island to another, till Shimushir [1] and Urup [2] afforded them a more hospitable home. However, they were not to live there for long, for the Japanese Government, asserting that subjects of the empire who chose to live so far could not be properly looked after, sent the small ship on which I was now travelling on a mission with orders to bring them all down to the formerly deserted island of Shikotan. The orders had to be obeyed; and reluctantly setting fire to the huts which they were about to abandon and never to see again, ninety souls, all that remained of that nomad tribe of Ainu, were embarked and carried into exile at Shikotan. The quiet life on the Shikotan rocks little suits the roaming disposition of the Kurilsky Ainu; and though even formerly they were rapidly dying out, the rate of mortality has increased since their exile. Having thus verified the fact

[1] *Shimushir*, High Island. [2] *Urup*, name given to a kind of salmon.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

convinced that the captain was under an hallucination. I could only see rock after rock, huge pillar after huge pillar; but no entrance whatever.

"We are just going in," said the captain, laughing at my astonishment, and he gave orders to the quartermaster at the wheel to steer straight for one of the pillars. We were but a few yards from it when our craft was made to swing rapidly on her starboard side, and we turned round a gigantic shoulder of rock, to find ourselves in a narrow channel. One minute later we were in a pretty circular harbour, surrounded by high peaks—in fact, a kind of "fiord." The access to this harbour is certainly difficult to find, but when you are fairly in, it is seen to afford a well-sheltered anchorage. It has more the appearance of a small mountain lake than that of a sea-harbour; and undoubtedly it is a submerged crater. It is perfectly circular, and very deep, but not of large capacity. Directly opposite the entrance, on the shore, is a small narrow valley, on which is situated the village of the Kurilsky Ainu. Four men rowed me ashore, and I went to the village.

When the Japanese imported these Kurilsky Ainu to Shikotan, they allowed them to build their huts in their own way; but this done, a railing with a gate was erected, closing the entrance of the valley which overlooks the harbour, thus preventing the poor wretches from abandoning the island to resume their migratory habits, and return to their more northern homes. Inside this gate two rows of huts, exactly similar to those of the Yezo Ainu, have been constructed by the exiles. There are sixteen huts altogether, and not a single one of them is built over a pit. In Chapter IX. I have fully explained the characteristics and mode of living, which leaves no doubt as to these people being proper Ainu, and not pit-dwellers, as some have asserted; though of course their type is slightly modified by external conditions—a common occurrence in all races. Take a Londoner, a provincial, and a sea-man, and though they be all three Englishmen, one will have a washed-out look, the other will be healthy and strong, but not so sturdy, wiry, and weather-beaten as the sailor. The same natural process is at work with this tribe of Ainu. They conform their life according to circumstances and places; and though they possess the same general characteristics as the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rest of the Ainu, in some small details they cannot but differ from them.

Shikotan was a deserted island previous to these poor wretches being transplanted there by the Japanese Government. It does not abound in game, like Shimushir, Urup, or Poromushir, whence they were taken.

SHIKOTAN AINU.

The story of this tribe of Ainu is a sad one. Hunting, sealing, and fishing were their only aims in life, their only pastimes, the only things they lived for. At Shikotan they have none of these things. There is no big game; the only animal found being a beautiful species of white long-tailed fox. There are no large rivers at Shikotan; there is hardly any vegetation, and the whole island is nothing but a mass of barren rocks.

The food of the Kurilsky Ainu consisted chiefly of meat of bear and seals, berries, and eggs of sea-birds. They were a migratory people, and in their small cranky canoes they often crossed from one island to another, carrying with them all their property, consisting of skin garments and fishing and hunting implements, these latter the same as those employed by other Ainu. The dress of the men is shaped like a short tunic, made of sea-birds' skins, with the feathers inside. Some of the smart ones are trimmed with seal, and they are worn fastened round the waist with a girdle of sealskin or a belt of sea-lion hide, often ornamented with molten lead buttons or Chinese cash. The women's garment is much longer, and reaches nearly to the feet; it falls loosely, and has long sleeves covering the hands; it is fastened with a girdle in bad weather, and the gown is then pulled up to the knee, showing the long yellow boots. When carrying water or working this is also done, as it gives greater freedom to the limbs, making walking and all movement much easier. A red,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

yellow, or brightly-coloured handkerchief, of Russian manufacture, is tied round the neck and another round the back of the head, and this makes the women look like Italian peasants. As the gown is worn usually loose it has the identical shape of a dressing-gown; it is ornamented with yellow feathers of puffins round the neck and the edge. Both men and women wear either moccasins, or long boots made of sealskin, with the fur inside, or else they wear salmon-skin boots, like the Ainu of Yezo. No woman that I saw at Shikotan had a moustache tattooed round her lips, or any tattoo marks on her arms. Very few of them wore earrings, though all had the ears bored for that purpose, and had worn them. The earrings which they possessed were mostly strings of coral beads and metal ornaments of Russian manufacture, which, like the brightly-coloured handkerchiefs, they had received in bartering with the crew of a sealing schooner. Since they have been at Shikotan the men have been presented with old caps and overcoats, similar to those of the Japanese police. Previous to this, however, when the Kuriles were under the rigid Russian *régime*, the Kurilsky Ainu men were compelled to trim their hair and beard, which was the first step taken by the priests of the Coptic Church in Christianising these nomadic barbarians. When this hair-dressing order was complied with, as the first link of the chain, the Coptic creed was enforced on them, and the barbarous Kurilsky Ainu became well-trimmed orthodox Christians.

At Shikotan, as it is, fishing on a small scale is their main occupation, praying the next, and Jacko, the chief of the village, is the high priest. Jacko's predecessor, in fulfilling the duties of this high post, was a man who had dropped his Ainu name, and had been baptized as Alexandrovitch. His house is now occupied by Jacko. It is the first on the right-hand side when the village is entered from the harbour side, and it is larger than any of the others; it is built of wood instead of rushes and reeds. The interior is divided into two rooms, and in the second are three stands, the middle one of which has a cross on it. On each of these stands is a Russian Bible, with images hanging on the page-marks. Several rough stools and a couple of benches are placed in rows in front of these stands, and on the walls hang two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the four brave men, who had suffered agonies for days, and had almost miraculously escaped death in the treacherous currents of the Otkoshk Sea, were certainly not to be outwitted by a handful of hard-hearted Japanese or by a pack of hairy Ainu. They begged for food and could not obtain it, so they stole it, and ill-treated some of the natives who interfered. They then disappeared towards the south. When I put in an appearance, all alone and almost in rags, leading and dragging my tired pony, it is not astonishing that the first thing that struck them was that I must be another escaped Russian, "or bad man from Krafto,"[1] as the Ainu called me.

The reception I received was pretty stormy; but when I understood what the matter was which caused the rioting, I set their minds at rest, and, speaking in their own language, told them that the "bad men of Krafto" were my enemies as well as theirs, and that, should I find them, I would punish them. Not only that, but, to make them perfectly at ease, I gave them some little present of money, which turned them at once into friends. As to the Russian convicts, there was no possibility of my finding them, for they were travelling towards the south from this point, and I was moving towards the north, so I was perfectly safe in passing myself off as a kind of supreme judge.

Shari Mombets is a miserable place. In the house where I put up I was received by a young man, but the owner of the house did not show himself. The next morning, however, as I gave much more money than they expected, the landlord was brought to my room to thank me. The poor man suffered from elephantiasis—the wretched disease by which the head and all the limbs of the body assume gigantic proportions. His head was swollen to more than twice its normal size, and had lost its shape; his body was piteously deformed and inflated, his eyes nearly buried in flesh. The weight of his head was such that the cervical vertebræ were scarcely strong enough to support it erect; and when he bowed down in Japanese fashion to thank me and bid me

[1] *Krafto*, Ainu word for Sakhalin.

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

Kinship Organization of the Saru Ainu[1]

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The ethnological importance of the culture of the Ainu, perhaps overshadowed by the biological significance of this archaic Caucasoid people, has never received proper attention in Western anthropological literature. This also reflects the fact that the aboriginal culture of the Ainu, as Takakura (1960) has shown, had begun to disintegrate long before modern times. Early in the nineteenth century the Japanese government tightened its political control over the Ainu, and this policy, together with the adoption of agriculture by this basically hunting-and-gathering people, increasing intermarriage with the neighboring Japanese, and the adoption of the Japanese language for everyday conversation, so altered the Ainu culture that a study of the aboriginal conditions is now extremely difficult.

Nevertheless, research in all aspects of Ainu culture is being carried on—primarily by Japanese scholars. In 1951 the Japanese Society of Ethnology sent a team of anthropologists to the Saru River valley, in southwestern Hokkaido, to study the Ainu of this area, using modern anthropological techniques. This field work, in which the senior author participated, has thrown considerable light on the nature of the Ainu kinship structure, about which very little had been known. A unique feature of the Ainu kinship system which came to be understood at this time is that men trace their descent patrilineally and women matrilineally. Although this characteristic had been noted in passing by Takakura (1944: 54-55) and Natori (1945: 114), a full understanding of this unusual descent system, particularly in relation to other aspects of the social organization, had to await the 1951 field investigation. The purpose of this paper is to outline the kinship organization of the Saru Ainu with special emphasis on the nature of their descent system.

Family

Although the contemporary Ainu family tends to be extended, in aboriginal times the nuclear family seems to have been the preponderant pattern, with occasional coresidence of a widowed kinsman. In the rare cases of polygyny, each wife, with her children, had her own dwelling.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

by Hitoshi Watanabe

THE AINU are the aboriginal people of Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands. They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and long heads. In 1939 the Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated at 160,000, and there had probably been little change since 1854. There were possibly another 10,000 scattered in the other islands.

Hokkaido is an island of about 30,000 square miles, situated north of the main Japanese island of Honshu, between 41° 30′ N. and 45° 30′ N. and 140–145° E. The northern end of Hokkaido is about twenty nautical miles away from Sakhalin, and to the north-east the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The climate of Hokkaido is sub-arctic; yearly mean temperature varies between 5·2° C. and 7·6° C., with a long snow season from November to May. The island is well wooded with fir, spruce, birch, oak and elm. Most of the rivers rise in a range of mountains which runs through the centre of the island from north to south. Grizzly bear and deer are found in the mountains, and salmon run in most rivers from May till October. In the past the Ainu lived mainly by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants and berries.

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese is of long standing and has taken different forms. Before 1599 contact must have been limited. In 1599 Japanese who had established their headquarters in the south-western end (Matsumae) of Hokkaido were recognized as the Japanese Matsumae clan by the Tokugawa Shogunate. They were given rights of ownership in this and the adjacent area as the clan territory (Matsumae-chi). Settlement of Ainu in the area was

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

648 prohibited except for those already established there. Japanese civilians were also prohibited from living outside this area in the [439] Ainu territory. The Matsumae had exclusive trading rights with the Ainu, and established trading and fishing posts along the coast. They traded rice, rice wine, tobacco, salt, pans, knives, axes, needles, thread, lacquer ware, trinkets, etc. for salmon, skins, craft objects and certain goods from the mainland such as Manchurian trinkets and clothing.

During this period, the Ainu retained their independence. But in 1799 this part of Hokkaido was brought under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate in order to protect Japanese interests from Russian mercantile aggression. In those days, foreign vessels (Dutch, Russian, English and French) were often seen off the coast of Hokkaido, and the Russian colonization in the northern Pacific became active. The Tokugawa Government became aware of the Russian colonization in the Kurile Islands (1771). A Russian ship came to the coast of Hokkaido in the hope of establishing commercial relations (1779). Thereafter, Russia sent her representatives to Japan, hoping to enter into diplomatic relations (Lacsman in 1792 and Resanov in 1804). The trading stations became military posts and the Japanese established a limited administrative organization in Ainu territory, but did little to interfere in their internal affairs, except as required for defence. Trade continued as before. In 1821 the Matsumae again ad- [464] ministered the territory and continued this policy. Ainu were employed by the Japanese at these coastal posts. From 1854 to 1867 the south-western part of Hokkaido was again under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

177 Before 1854 the Japanese had little effect upon Ainu culture, except in the distribution of Japanese goods. But in 1868 the island became a part of the territory of Japan, and thus began a process of Japanese colonization which greatly changed Ainu culture. Today the Ainu language is rarely spoken, and then only by the aged; pure-blood Ainu are nearly extinct; and the whole traditional economy has been profoundly altered.

648 The Japanese Government established administrative head-
177 quarters in Hokkaido. The Ainu were included in Japanese census registers and their territory became Government property with land laws enacted to grant plots of land both to Ainu and to Japanese settlers. The Ainu were forbidden to fish for salmon or

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

to hunt deer and bear. The Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farms and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters used techniques which were more advanced than those of the Ainu. Forestry and mining undertakings were set up. As a result of these changes, the resources on which Ainu had depended for subsistence became inadequate. Game and fish resources decreased, food-collecting sites were broken up, and from 1884 onwards the Government encouraged the Ainu to take up agriculture. Each household was allotted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seed and taught agricultural techniques by specialist Japanese officials.

Before this date the coastal Hokkaido Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, but only on a small scale, and probably under Japanese influence. The cultivation of millet, the main crop, was done by women. After the snow melted, suitable plots on river banks were cleared with small wooden picks (*shittap*), and sown without ridging. Weeding was done only between sowing and harvest. Millet was harvested by cutting off the heads with a shell knife (*pipa*). The area cultivated by a household was probably between 240 and 360 square metres. When the soil was exhausted, the plot was abandoned and a new one prepared; there appears to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in this period. Once a person had cultivated a plot of land it was called 'the place which is expected to be cultivated by so-and-so'. The cultivator could control the use of the plot and the crop until it was abandoned. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.[1]

The more general acceptance of agriculture by the Ainu, with the encouragement of the Japanese administration after 1884, resulted in considerable displacement of traditional groupings, since these had depended on areas suitable for fishing, hunting, and collecting, rather than on terrain suitable for farming. The old food-gathering system, especially that of hunting and fishing, had been closely linked with the religious beliefs of the Ainu. So long as it remained untouched, down to 1884, the religion of the Ainu

[1] Takakura (1942) says that early Japanese documents reported this type of agriculture as practised by the Ainu in the south-western area of the island. The origin of the old agricultural system is unknown, but it may have been learned from the Japanese. The grounds for such an hypothesis are that the area is nearest to the Japanese mainland (Honshu) and that contact between the Ainu and the Japanese had been one of long duration.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

182
241
177
771

INTRODUCTION

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

621 The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A
[594] group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the
[162] number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty,
361 but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

621 A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically
42-3 autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was
[184] expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

226 Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most im-
796 portant was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The
621 elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the
[774] coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

224 Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to
825 ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best
796 known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

● 648 It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu
175 were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[613] [1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa*
[622] *uko kor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people).
[114] Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

throne complains of the drain on the treasury caused by constant fighting with the Ainu. The neighbourhood of Akita was laid waste by them; they 'gathered together like ants, but dispersed like birds'. The Ainu inflicted heavy casualties on the Japanese in 789. Two years later a stronger and better organized force was successful in driving the enemy northwards. In 811 a commander was praised for 'destroying the lairs of the barbarians and exterminating the tribe'. Ainu chieftains were put to death, other prisoners were banished to the extreme south.

From these records the question of Ainu chieftainship arises, and the capacity of a non-agricultural people to combine in such force. Sansom suggests that pioneer Japanese settlers in the north of Honshu may have combined with the Ainu and organized their resistance.

Since the translation of the *Ainu Seisaku Shi* into English by Mr. John A. Harrison and its publication,[1] information concerning the earliest contacts with the Ainu in Hokkaido have been available to western readers. Professor Takakura's motive in spending many years in research on the subject of Japanese and Ainu contacts, and Japanese colonial policy, was similar to that of Munro. Both men were distressed by the miserable condition of the Ainu, cut off from their traditional means of livelihood. Professor Takakura was insensed that, during his youth, 'nothing was being done to improve the lot of the Ainu'.

He records that in 1514, when the founder of the Matsumae family settled in Hokkaido, the Japanese settlements were already fortified against attack from the Ainu.

The Ezo of Ou (the Ainu of Honshu), who had been powerful in the ninth century, had been almost exterminated, and their remnants were completely assimilated by the end of the eighteenth century. Some contact with the Ainu of Hokkaido had been established by the Japanese at the end of the eighth century, but it was not until the sixteenth century that numbers of Japanese immigrants settled in South Hokkaido. Hokkaido then became a Japanese trading colony. When the Matsumae clan was granted a decree of enfeofment in 1604 the Ainu were living by hunting and fishing; they bred dogs, both for hunting and haulage; they used stone and

[1] Takakura, Shinichiro, *The Ainu of Northern Japan, a Study in Conquest and Acculturation*, translated and annotated by John A. Harrison, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, April 1960.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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INTRODUCTION

bone implements, and made clothing of bark cloth, skins and feathers. Barter trade with Japanese as well as Manchurian and Siberian tribes was already established, and millet was cultivated, probably introduced by the Japanese.

Chiefs called *Kotan Korokuru* (village ruling chiefs) are mentioned, but also chiefs of much larger areas, having two hundred or more retainers. In 1739 a Japanese record states that the Ainu of East Hokkaido were sturdy, and apt to defy Matsumae law.

It seems clear that the Japanese treated certain Ainu, whom they considered suitable, as paramount chiefs, but whether the Ainu themselves regarded these chiefs in this light is doubtful. However, they were able to combine against Japanese aggression in the serious rebellion of 1669 and again in 1789.

Japanese policy varied from direct aggression and prohibitions against any kind of personal contact with the native population to periods of appeasement and encouragement of the adoption of Japanese customs by the Ainu, and even miscegenation. Coastal trading posts were established, and Ainu fishermen were employed as labourers in fishing and making oilcake; they were paid in kind, which was barely sufficient for their daily needs. During the periods of forced labour they were unable to preserve and store salmon for the winter as was their custom, so when the fishing season was over they were left to starve. Hunters living away from the coast fared better; they could supply hawks, eagle feathers, skins and bear liver to the Japanese without changing their mode of life. The encouragement of agriculture in no way compensated the Ainu for the prohibitions of hunting and fishing which were, from time to time, and in various districts, imposed upon them.

London, 1961

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

dancing together they kept up their frenzied saltations to the point of complete exhaustion. Some are said to have died from fatigue, others to have danced into the hills and forests, sometimes perishing there. Discarding clothes, even women are said to have danced naked or almost so, whereas under normal conditions Ainu women would have killed themselves rather than expose their persons. Apart from feminine modesty, this is credible, since every Ainu woman wore a secret girdle. . . . But prohibitions counted for nothing while mob contagion pursued its flighty course. As in Europe, sexual licence is said to have occurred. . . . I was told by an *ekashi* that hunting, fishing and house-work were neglected, and abandoned children and adults died from inanition. For the time being, the established order of customs and mutual relations was disorganized. Wherever the epidemic spread, the same phenomena prevailed, closely resembling those in Europe but seemingly much exaggerated.

What circumstances conspired to start that amazing bolt from self-control and social restraint? The Ainu attribute it to a mischievous spirit, Pauchi Kamui, glamouring them and enticing them to their doom . . . but modern psychology teaches us to examine the conditions which may lead to emotional outbursts. The dancing mania of the Ainu followed upon an experience of enforced servitude . . . when their island came under the domination of the Matsumae daimyos. . . . Its resources were exploited by commandeering the Ainu—young women as well as men—for fishing and other enterprises, while those permitted to hunt had to pay heavy tribute in skins. . . . The Ainu, poorly armed and undisciplined, had no chance against samurai, whose swords put the fear of death on all who did not obey. . . .

Imu. The following is compiled from Munro's notes:

Munro studied twelve cases of *imu*, a form of psychoneurosis common among women. The usual symptoms are: eye trouble, headaches, neuralgia, and functional paralysis, accompanied by dreams and compulsive actions. The usual procedure is for a woman to consult a *tusu*, and a frequent diagnosis is that the illness is due to possession by an evil snake spirit. In that case, after Kamui Fuchi has been invoked, the snake spirit is called, either as Kinashut Kamui or as Nusa-koro Kamui. In the north, transmutation to *imu* condition may be sudden: in the south the process is more gradual. A snake image is made of curled shavings, and purification is performed with it (see Pl. XXI, fig. 3). When exorcism is finished, the subsequent outpouring of emotion is comparable to conversion. The patient is considered cured, but she retains *imu* behaviour. This behaviour (see Chapter IX, p. 108) is said not to be permanent, but in the twelve cases Munro examined it

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847 [184] told me about it did not know its name. I was not so well acquainted with the women of these regions that I could have openly discussed such a delicate topic with them.

Artificial abortions were, according to what the old Ainu tell, already known in the distant past, since girls enjoyed [836] absolute freedom in sexual intercourse, but were ashamed, or refused, to bear children before marriage. It is possible that at that time other means were also used to get rid of the fetus.

847 177 Now the women use primarily Japanese methods, which are being introduced by the workers and officials of the fisheries that are spread over the entire southern coast of Sakhalin Island. But I was unable to find out anything concerning these methods from the fishermen whom I questioned. Perhaps I encountered people who really had no conception of these matters. Or they probably avoided discussing them with me on purpose since they [648] knew that the new Japanese penal law prosecutes severely all manipulations that are designed to decrease the birthrate. I learned, however, from a more intelligent Japanese, that [824] saffron, which grows wild on Hokkaido Island, is regarded as a very sure remedy. It is highly probable that in Japan many methods are used, in view of the fact that in that country the custom of preventing and interrupting pregnancy is very widespread. Even the Ainu women believe in these sisiam kusuri (Japanese remedies), but they seldom betray their secret which they received on the condition of silence.

845 847 Twin births. Among the Ainu the birth of twins has the same supersition attached to it as among the Gilyak. One of [842] the two is considered of definite diabolic descent since in their opinion man can only fertilize a woman with one child. Such an attitude to two simultaneously born children might lead one to suspect that the Ainu would try to rid themselves of the diabolic breed. I was however unable to find any basis for the suspicion that they have the custom of killing one of the twins. On the other hand, in the book of a Russian traveller of the beginning of the 19th century, Krasheninnikov, such a custom is mentioned, though, in fact, as being current with the Ainu of

/326 cont'd/

173 123 friends, a young Ainu from Taraika who owed much to me, told me frankly the true reason for the reticence of the Ainu regarding the Tonchi. These actually had inhabited Sakhalin before the arrival of [648] the Ainu. But the Ainu tried very hard to pass over this fact in silence or even to deny it, because they were afraid that the Russians might rob them of the country and expel them from the island so dear to them once they had learned that they were immigrants and not autochthons. Thus old Ainu stubbornly withheld any information about their predecessors and forbade all clansmen to talk about the Tonchi at all and about the fact that the Ainu tribe did not constitute the original population of the country but had once immigrated from Hokkaido (Yezo) to Sakhalin. This information was confirmed to me by an old Ainu from the village of Nayero who was highly esteemed by all the inhabitants of the eastern shore including the Gilyak and Orok. He confessed to having deliberately misled me earlier. Yet after he became convinced that I was well inclined towards the Ainu he could tell the truth since he knew that I would not abuse it to the detriment of his people.

175 648 I have never received any detailed information when this prohibition[A] among the Ainu took place, but I can understand it well. I relate it to the times of the advance of the first Russians on the island. Captain Newelski and his comrades took great pains to prove that the Japanese had no rights on the Island of Sakhalin since they had not been there long enough. Much earlier "Russian subjects," i.e. Orok, had shown up there who were mistakenly called Tungus by the new conquerors and were considered emigrants from the environments of Udsk in the Russian Empire. This political slant "which confirms the indisputable right of Russia to dominate the territory of the Island of Sakhalin" and finds its expression in thoroughly childish ethnographic fairy-tales (1) /327/ and which probably also played its part in the

114 [113] 1. See Newelski: Podwigi russkich morskich oficerov (The Feats of Russian Navy Officers). Petersburg, 1878, p. 304 and 305. This book contains

A. [For an explanation of this prohibition, see pp. 4-5--Analyst]

/327 cont'd/

114

the description of an Ainu bear festival and an Ainu clay hut, ascribing both to the Orok, who, however, as is well known, live only in the Tundra region and are occupied exclusively with reindeer breeding. It also quotes information obtained from certain lotsa-orok-ajnu. The latter are supposed to be descended from Russian Tungus and Ainu and to live together with pure Ainu scattered in different villages. But this information is not confirmed by anybody, Schrenk even characterizes it as outright wrong. My own research and observations have convinced me that all this has been invented by either Newelski himself or other persons who, under his orders, traveled at that time at the shores of Sakhalin.

175 census taken at that time, apparently frightened the autochthonous
• 648 population which had already been disturbed by the appearance of a foreign unknown race. Even the more advanced Japanese were alarmed about it, for they foresaw that they would be expelled from the country where they had not yet gained a firm hold. Therefore they transferred as quickly as possible to places which up to then they had carefully avoided, namely more to the north of Sakhalin. The era of the Russo-Japanese joint rule in the south of Sakhalin, 1854-1875, developed distrust and a certain cunning diplomacy among the Ainu. When finally the Russians had become masters of the country and the Japanese were forced to quit their thriving settlements, the thought that they, too, would be forced to leave the country of their fathers, that their existence, too, was threatened, took still firmer roots in the childlike minds of the peoples there. Nor did the Japanese refrain from frightening the Ainu by exaggerated

/327 cont'd/

175 descriptions of the new rulers and measures to be expected. Small
648 wonder that ca. 800 Ainu left the island together with the Japanese, though they had never enjoyed any special attention or leniency from their yellow neighbors.

114 [115] The same Ainu friend--his name was Sisratoka--who had told me the secret of the above mentioned ban regarding the Tonchi related to me also how some years ago, in the village of Nayero, the Ainu had given some wrong information to an American traveler (2)

2. I think this refers to B. Laufer who traveled by American order.

who had come to them from the north of Sakhalin. Among other things he wanted to sound them out on the Tonchi, and Sisratoka who served as interpreter was forbidden by the resentful elders to tell the truth.

173 I have succeeded in putting down some legends about the Tonchi with their variants. But they all resemble each other strikingly and their content is the following:

At the time of their arrival in Sakhalin the Ainu found there a people that lived in clay huts and knew how to manufacture vessels out of earth. The members of this tribe called themselves Tonchi. They were not very tall nor very small, had black hair and eyes, and generally did not much differ from the Ainu. Their women did not tattoo themselves. They wore short dresses made from animal skins or Manchurian material, their footgear was sewn together from seal-skin. They kept neither dogs nor reindeer. For fishing they used angling rods, no nets. They also practised sable-hunting in a way different from the Ainu, since they did not try to kill the animals but caught them in traps. By boats similar to the ones now used by the Gilyak they went into Manchuria and brought wares from there, among other things a delicate white material called para pous. From the Tonchi the Ainu also learned the route into Manchuria. The Tonchi had thievish inclinations and were particularly after Ainu girls, whom they used to kidnap. Sometimes they raped and killed them.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese, their southern neighbours, is of long standing[1], and for a considerable period the life of the Ainu had been subject to Japanese influence through what was called the "basho" or district system that lasted from before 1789 to 1869[2]. In 1868, Hokkaido came under the administration of the Japanese Government: the island became a part of the territory of Japan and colonization was started.[3] With this began a process which greatly changed Ainu life, so that today the Ainu language is rarely spoken and then only by the aged; full-blood Ainus are about to be extinct; and the whole system of their subsistence has been profoundly altered. The most sudden and significant change in their mode of life happened in 1883 when the new Government started carrying out its programme of encouraging the Ainu to take up farming[4]. The object of this paper is the Ainu as they lived their autonomous life in the last phase of the intermediate period between the abolishment of the "basho" system and the introduction of new life based on agriculture[5].

The Aim and Method.

The Ainu have interested many students concerned with the origins of this ethnic group, their customs and artifacts as well as their bodily features. The result has been listings of patterns of those elements and mappings of their distributions, but little has been known about the process of their life, that is, how the Ainu have lived and are still living in the fields. To take an example, although the Ainu is described to have been a gathering people with no necessity of nomadic wanderings HABARA, 1937, pp. 73-74, quoted from The Aborigines of Hokkaido published by Hokkaido Government; Note 10, scarcely anything has been investigated about how they maintained a settled life and in what conditions and with what effects, even the ascertainment alone of which may be of theoretical significance.

Man is a unique animal with unique properties; yet he remains part of the biotic world and his life process at any level of organization, whether at that of the cell, the individual or the group, is nothing but a part of nature. This paper deals with the Ainu not in terms of the types of implements and customs but of a life process functioning on a system of activities incorporating these means and mechanisms. The life process as such should be understood in the context of habitat, the place of abode, because no organisms can function apart from it. On the other hand, their activities should be understood in terms of the contribution to maintainance of the individual, the group and the species because this is what the students of organisms consider as the end or purpose of life process in general. From this point of view the present writer has attempted to analyse the modes and arrangements of Ainu activities with reference to their habitat and their group

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

137 firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis, runs at an altitude of 1400 metres above sea-level, leaving the overlying zone to creeping-pines and grasses (INUKAI, 1943, p. 5).

13 4 Kishida distinguishes two zoo-geographycal regions in Hokkaido: the Highland and Lowland regions. The former is represented by the creeping-pine zone and one overlying it in the Taisetu volcanic mountain range. The latter includes the whole lower regions in Hokkaido and the Kurile Islands south of Rasawo. The brown bear, Ursus arctos, is found in both of the regions, while the deer, Cervus nippon, is found exclusively in the Lowland region (KISHIDA, 1930, p. 372; KURODA, 1937, pp. 71-72 and 79). See also Note 3.

175 5 The contact between the Ainu and the Japanese has taken different
● 648 forms. The following is summary made by the present writer from TAKAKURA's study (TAKAKURA, 1942).

Before 1599, the contact must have been limited. In that year the Japanese Matumae clan, which was subordinate to the Tokugawa Shognate, was established with its headquarters at Matsumae in the southwestern end of Hokkaido and with adjacent area, Matsumae-chi, as clan territory. There no residence was allowed to Ainus except those who had been living in the area hitherto. At the same time Japanese civilians were prohibited to live outside
[439] the area, that is, in the Ainu territory. The Matsumae had exclusive trading rights with the Ainu and established trading and fishing posts along the coast. They traded rice, rice wine, tobacco, salt, pans, knives, axes, needles, threads, lacquer wares, trinkets and so on, in exchange for salmon, skins, craft objects, and certain other items brought over from the continent such as Manchurian trinkets and clothing. During this period the Ainu continued to retain their independence. But in 1799, this part of Hokkaido came under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shognate for the purpose of protecting Japanese interests from the expanding Russian merchantile activities. In those days, foreign vessels, i.e. Duch, Russian, English, and French ships for explorations, were often seen off the coast of Hokkaido, and the Russian colonization of the northern Pacific became active. As a result the Japanese trading stations were turned into military posts. The Japanese established a limited administrative organization over the Ainu territory but did little to interfere in their internal affairs except as requirements of defence dictated. Trading continued as before. In 1821 the Matsumae resumed the administration of
[464] the territory and continued the same policy. The Ainu were employed by the Japanese at those coastal posts. In 1854-67 the Matsumae-chi again came
[177] under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate. It seems quite reasonable to state that until 1867 the Japanese had relatively slight effect upon the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them. 175 648

6) "Basho" or District System.

The "basho" system came into being when the Matsumae clan, establishing itself as a feudal clan under the Tokugawa Shogunate, claimed the "Matsumae clan territory" around the castle it built for its headquarters at the tip of the Woshima peninsula in the southwest Hokkaido and divided part of the Ainu territory on the island and the southern Kuriles into a number of "basho" or districts as fiefs for its vassals (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, pp. 102-103). The result was a division of the Ainu territory roughly into two sections, the east territory and the west, with probably either Kamui Cape or Fuoi Cape as boundary (Note 1). At the Kansei period (1789-1800) there existed 43 "basho" in the east Ainu territory and 42 more in the west (ibid., p. 359). Down at the outset of the Japanese administration, that is, immediately before the abolition of the system (1869), the number was 20 in the east and about 25 in the west (ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 145-148). The districts varied considerably in area, their boundaries, it seems, being based on old Ainu observances (ibid., Vol. 2, p. 105). 175 648 631

Within the clan territory no Ainus were allowed to live except those resident hitherto. Nor in the earlier days were any Japanese permitted to inhabit Ainu territory; all they did with the natives was trading of goods once every year at the coast of each "basho". In course of time, though restrictions on Japanese residence continued, there emerged on the coast of each "basho" a trading post, "unjoya", to conduct periodic trading and periodic shore fishing with employment of native labour (ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 106-108). In "basho" with good fishing grounds a census-register was kept at each trading post for the purpose of summoning interior Ainus to compulsory service at the coast and calling out any surplus labour force from other districts under the same contractor. Some Ainus, however, who lived on the upper courses of the larger rivers or in "basho" with poor fishing grounds, were free from the service (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 235). Ainus employed at the coast were mainly young and grown-up men, but sometimes women and even young children were included (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 289). At the close of the "basho" period 1854-1868 Ainus responsible for supporting a family were exempted from shore service; in absence of such in a family some one in his place was chosen for exemption (ibid., p. 366). The "basho" system was abolished in 1869 by the Japanese Government shortly after the establishment of the colonial government for development of Ezo Island. The system was temporarily replaced in some areas by direct government control and in others, including Tokapchi, by the new system of "ryōba-mochi" (fishery holding) [439] [464] 175 464 466 648 175 648

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 whereby fishing in each district was consigned to some person who was placed
648 concurrently in charge of the postal service in the area. In 1876 these temporary measures were formally all abolished, but a period of transition seems to have prevailed for some time afterwards (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, pp. 470-472).

7 In 1868, with the establishment of the Japanese Government in place of the Tokugawa feudal government, Hokkaido came under the new Government. In that year the Government established its administrative headquarters and in the next year its colonial government, "Kaitaku-shi", in Hokkaido. The Ainu were enrolled in the Japanese census registers by 1875 or 1876 (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 419). [421] Their territory became Government property; land laws were enacted for granting plots of land both to Ainu and Japanese settlers. [224] While the Ainu were prohibited from fishing salmon and hunting deer and [226] bears with poisoned arrows, the Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farming and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters came over with techniques superior to those used by the Ainu. Forestry and mining
175 undertakings were set up. From 1883 onwards the Government encouraged
648 the Ainu of Hokkaido to take up agriculture.
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177 8 Each Ainu household was granted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seeds, and received technical instructions from specialist Japanese officials. [113] This land allotment to the Ainu population with accompanying agricultural instruction began in 1883 in the Ashoro district in Hokkaido and spread gradually to other areas throughout the island (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-491); in the upper Tokapchi area the project was carried out in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma area in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). Even before this date the coastal Ainu and part of the interior Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, probably under Japanese influence (Note 39) but only on a small scale (p. 41). The practice of agriculture before the land allotment was actually observed in various places by MATUURA, official of the Tokugawa Shogunate, on his explorations of the Ainu territory in Hokkaido in 1857-58 (Note 10).

[182] The introduction of agriculture thus encouraged by the Japanese administrators after 1883 resulted in considerable displacement in the traditional territorial groupings of the Ainu which had been correlated to fishing, hunting, and collecting tracts rather than to any terrain suitable for farming (Note 10).

175 9 The time horizon for the Ainu life as treated in the present paper is
648 roughly coeval with the final stage of the intermediate period (Notes 6-7).
177
[101]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was decided at the *ukosanio*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "basho" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pioaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fishing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tabacco, rice and salt. The ooo

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.90]

II

10 Historical survey of size and distribution of Ainu settlements. Reference has already been made in Notes 8 and 9 in Chapter I to the agriculturalization policy for the Ainu adopted by the Japanese Government in its earliest phase of Hokkaido administration (Notes 8 9). The policy was carried out in the northeastern districts in 1883 starting with Ashoro, followed in 1884 by Shiranuka, Akan, Kawakami and Abashiri, and in 1885 in Kusuri (Kushiro), Akkeshi and Shari, for Hitaka district in 1885 in Saru (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 487), for the Tokapchi district in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6, from a publication by Iwaki Branch Office) and for the Azuma district in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office).

Prior to this period the natives living near the coasts of the south-western, north-western and south-eastern districts had grown millet and other cereals subsidiary to their gathering. But their farming and the areas under cultivation were insignificant (p. 11). In fact, even those Ainus who practised some farming lived in small settlements scattered over areas chosen for traditional gathering just as did non-agriculturist Ainus who lived more inland. With many of them the first difficulty lay in finding necessary areas of arable land near enough to their settlements. The consideration led the Government to move those Ainus into more favourable areas as preliminary to enforcing its policy. It was desired at the same time that the hitherto scattered Ainu settlements be brought together into smaller areas which would be convenient for instruction in farming and supervision. Accordingly, the natives of Ashoro, Tushipet and Rikupet were moved to Ashoro, those of Kushiro to tributaries, those of Tokapchi into nine areas on the Tokapchi and three other areas on the Tushipet. Even in fertile Saru there were large-scale removals made by two or three settlements and minor ones by almost all the others (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 487-491). On a field survey by the present writer information was collected relating to some of those removals of settlements in the Shikot, Azuma, Nukapira and Tokapchi valleys as well.

Now the present article is concerned primarily with the Ainu settlements as they had been prior to this redistribution period. Even before these movements brought about by the agriculturalization programme, some changes had taken place in Ainu settlements in relation to Japanese activities, namely, the fishery development projects by the Matsumae feudal clan. In 1635, for instance, when the Matsumae government opened Kusuri (Kushiro) fishing grounds, they looked for expedient supply of labour from the upper Kusuri Ainu, whom they transferred en masse to the Kusuri coast (HABARA, 1939, p.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 71 With the development of their administration and the expansion of
166 trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger
● 648 and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at
464 the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards.
[463] At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus cooking, night-and farm watch and lookout, charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp.
175 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type
648 Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater
166 size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses con-
361 tained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field
177 surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATSUURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts,
[433] to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Al-
[226] though the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The setting of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.
175 In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in
167 the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for
[363] 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabu-
[127] lated as follows:

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

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Tokapchi District (including Otopuke and Satnai valleys)

Area Number	Name of Area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
		1897	First immigrants: 2 men.
1	Shintoku	1902	Immigrants: 9 families.
		1907	Sudden increase in immigrants owing to establishment of a railway communication.
2	Memiro	1886	First immigrants: 3 men.
		1882	First immigrant: a man (advance party).
3	Obihiro	1883	First group immigrants: a party of 32 people.
4	Kamishihoro	1903	First immigrants: a party of 6 men.
		1880	First immigrant: a man.
		1885	Agricultural instruction to the Ainu by the governmental officials started.
5	Otopuke	ca. 1887	The Ainu of the area started, under governmental instructions, emigration to the new settlements in the Tokapchi valley.
		1896	Removal of the local Ainu to the allotted areas in the Otopuke valley.
6	Kasai	ca. 1895	First immigrants: a family.
7	Nakasatnai	1897	First immigrants subsequently came from various parts of the Japanese mainland.
		1880	Only a few Japanese used to come for barter with the Ainu.
8	Honbetu	1896	First immigrant: a man.
		1897	First group immigrants.
		1879	First immigrant: a family.
		1880	Several hundreds Japanese came to engage in deer hunting and barter, living in temporary huts and Ainu houses located near the junction of the Tushipet river.
9	Ikeda	1882	The hunters and merchants dispersed away owing to a sudden fall in the number of deer caused by a heavy snow fall. Only a few remained to settle down.
		1885-1889	Some officials were sent to the area to give agricultural instruction to the local Ainu.
		1886-1892	Several immigrants (less than five).

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

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Azuma River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
		1800	Some officials of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the Nambu clan immigrated to the coastal area.
		1870	An immigrant to the coast.
10	Azuma	1881	First immigrant to the interior.
		1887	Second immigrant to the interior.
		1888	The Ainu in the area were brought together to live in a new settlement, given instruction in agricultural technique.

Mukawa River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
11	Mukawa	1875	A family came to settle, engaged in fishing and running a hotel business.
		1882	First immigrants as farmers: some families.

Saru River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
		1870	First immigrants: 2 officials as agricultural instructors. Immigrants subsequently came after them.
12	Hiratori	1880	Establishment of a public office at the coastal settlement, Sarufuto.
		1899	Japanese houses totaled 300 or more; total population of the Japanese immigrants about 2000.
13	Hitaka	1905	First immigrant, a man.
		1907	Second immigrants: 3 men.

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For the size and distribution of Ainu settlements in the days of gathering activities, HABAKA quotes from 'Hokkaido Kyu-Dojin' (The Former Natives of Hokkaido published by the Hokkaido Government: "The Ainu combine a few to a dozen houses in a settlement and live scattered over wide areas" HABAKA, 1939, p. 73. TAKAKURA remarks: "An Ainu community used to be extremely small-sized. Tokunai Mogami in "Yezo Zōshi" (A Story Book of Yezo 1790 writes: 'In Yezo a settlement is composed of no more than five to seven houses. Ten houses is considered a large one, which is very rare.' "Yezo-Zakki Yakusetu" (Translations from Miscellaneous Foreign Works on Yezo translated by Teiyu BABA at the order of the Naga-

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

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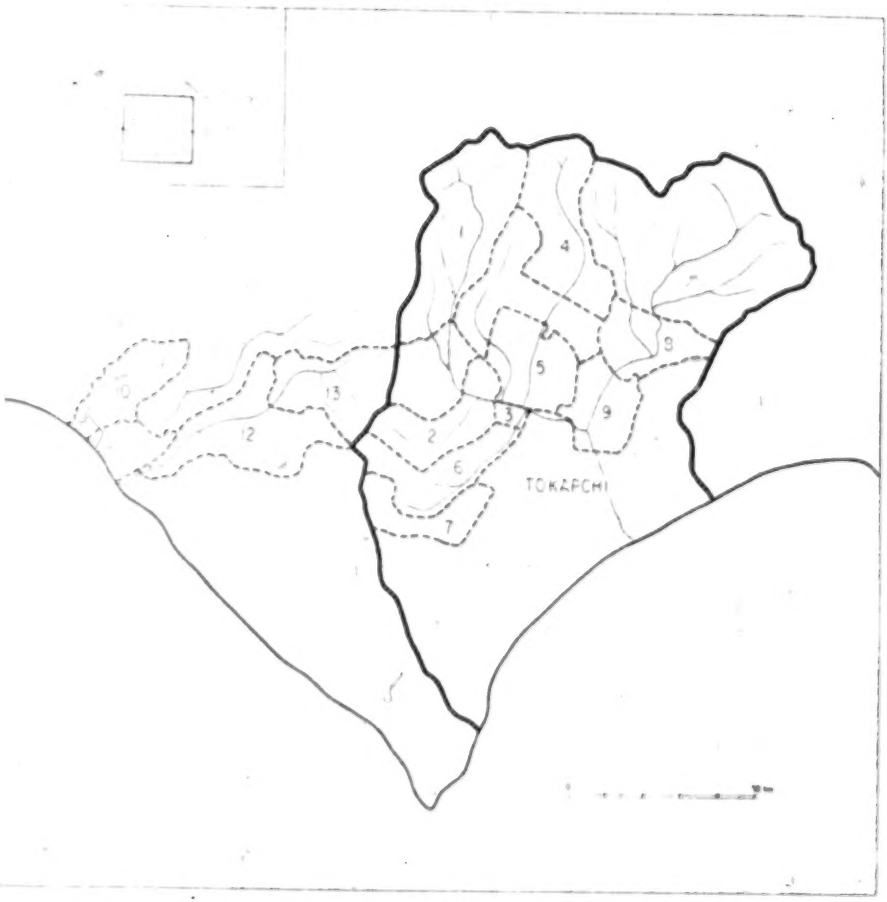

Reference Map for the Chart on Japanese Settlers.
The area numbers correspond to those given in the chart.

saki magistrate, published in 1809, vol. 2, contains a report of a Dutch merchantship which touched Hokkaido in 1643 saying: 'A settlement of twenty houses is about the largest I ever saw. Six or seven, even, eleven at most, is the number of houses in a village. And these settlements lie far between, seldom less than a mile apart'. In fact, according to records of the Kansei and Kyōwa eras (ca. 1790 down to the later 1810's) when Japanese influence first extended to these areas ("Kondo Seisai Zenshu", Complete Works of Seisai Kondo, vol. 1, p. 29), out of twenty-five settlements in six

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1. [For data pertinent to this map, see pages 92-93--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

IV

159 592 41 Information concerning member families of Nitmap local group and co-operative activities among them.

224 Shiokoro and his family.—Shiokoro was an old man; he no longer went hunting bears himself, because his sons had all grown enough to do that for him and themselves. Nor did old Shiokoro play an active part in deer-hunting as did his younger brothers and his sons. All his sons were good bear-hunters, Itomochara, the second, being the best. As some of them were every year [466] drafted in service at some Japanese fishing grounds on the sea-coast from [648] about May to early October and soon after their return went for bear hunting, deer-hunting on the fields was operated by the remaining male hands with their home as base, so as to carry on dog-salmon fishing side by side. Their deer-fence was accordingly built within half a mile of their settlement, on a level hill on the way to Shintoku on a smaller scale. But after their return from bear hunt they went for deer-hunting in the hills and got sufficient amount of deer. The children being all grown up, Shiokoro and his family built their own cherry-salmon weirs in the main stream and the glens.

Shurunke and his family.—Shurunke, a traditional headman of a *kotan* and formerly a great bear-hunter, was now too old to go hunting the beast. But his eldest son Sankur was one of the best bear-hunters of Nitmap and his second, Usareta, was another fine hunter. The third and the fourth, though always following their brothers on bear-hunting expeditions, had never killed a bear themselves yet. Sankur, like Shiokoro's sons, had to be away during summer for service at the coast; immediately on his return home he entered mountains to chase bears. Deer hunts in autumn fell largely on Shurunke and his son Usareta, who like Shiokaro's family set up their deer-fence less than a mile and a half from their settlement, on a level height on the way to Pekerepet, and there chased deer of the plain. Their daily routine was [512] to go round the fence during the morning and bring back spoils killed with hand-bows, spending the rest of the day in catching dog-salmon. In spring Sankur and Usareta always went together for bear-hunts; in autumn Sankur alone went because there were deer-hunting and dog-salmon fishing going on concurrently which needed hands. The building and use of the cherry-salmon weir in the main stream was a joint enterprise with the families of Shukemon, Kapkotuk and Osareainu; for the cherry salmon weir and the fishing hut on the glen they cooperated with the two families of Shukemon and Osareainu.

G *601 191 A T 601 191 [648]

Ainu AB6 Tungus RU5 601 ? RX3

/132 cont./ One could assume that there would be a much greater similarity with Ural-Altaic, especially Tungus idioms, since in both the reckoning of kinship and other peculiarities of their norms, Gilyak marriage is very close to them, and, moreover, the intercourse between these peoples has from distant times been more intimate than with the Ainu. Nevertheless, here, too, the isolated Gilyak language to a significant degree remains true to itself. Only a few terms are so close that they give a basis for assuming reciprocal borrowing. First of all, one's attention is drawn to the term designating the class of elder brothers; Gilyak -- "akand, aka, aki," general Tungus -- /133/ "a'ga, aki," Olcha – "akha, aki," general Turkic – "aga, akyn, akhun." Among the Tungus peoples, in contrast to the Gilyak, this term, in addition to the elder brother, also designates the younger brother of the father, while in Turkic it denotes the brother of the father in general, which in Gilyak has two completely independent names -- "ytk" (father) and "pilang"; the latter term, incidentally, means the same as "a'ga" in Tungus, i.e., elder.

G *601 191 T 601 191 Gi [601 191]

Furthermore, one may consider as common to all the root "ap, app": in Gilyak -- "app, appyk," among the Tungus peoples (Olcha, Orochi, Orok) -- "apan'ga, ypan'ga," used by both for designating the father-in-law /wife's father/ (by the Gilyak -- also for the brother of the mother), and by the Tungus tribes in many other meanings which do not correspond to the Gilyak terms. Among the Mongols, Turks, and Yakut this root is also encountered in the forms "aba'ga, apa'ga" -- elder brother of the father, "apa" (among other Turks) -- elder sister. About this term "app, appyk" among the Gilyak, one can say with great confidence that in their language it is a direct borrowing, since right alongside of it, other, purely Gilyak terms -- "atk, akhmalk" -- are used, and even more frequently than "appyk," and it is noteworthy that it is on the Amur, where the Gilyak territory borders directly on Tungus territory, that the term "app" is encountered most frequently. Further, we note the possibility of common roots in the following terms, which, however, do not completely correspond in

Gi T 601 191 G *601 191

Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

F.J. 175 636 648 361 [113] /74 cont./ ethnographically, and we are indebted to Ph. F. von Siebold for its publication (2); I mention it now only because one can gather

2. "Tô-tats ki ko," that is, "Journey to Eastern Tartary" (Nippon, VII, pp. 167-196).

from it that there were no Japanese settlements along the west coast of Sakhalin at that time. There is no mention in it of any in Ssiranussi either, to which Mamia Rinsô went first and where he spent three days in preparation for further travels; in his report he mentions only the trade of the Japanese in this place (3).

3. Op. cit., p. 187.

F.J. 636 175 648 464 A 648 464 175 Though the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin were small in number and extent in the beginning, they immediately had the result that a part of the Ainu became dependent on the Japanese. The chief reason for this was the circumstance that the latter, in order to broaden the scope of the very rewarding fishing along the coast of Sakhalin, needed the help of the Ainu. Now since among the Ainu, with the unconcern that characterizes all primitive peoples, it always happened that they suffered want and distress after the insufficient winter supplies were consumed, it was not difficult for the Japanese to find laborers among them in exchange for food and clothing. Once they were won over, however, they soon degenerated into permanent, completely dependent laborers and menials of the Japanese because of the impossibility of working for themselves in the future, the situation in which they now saw themselves put, because of small advances that made them debtors of the Japanese, because of various promises, threats, and in general the pressure of a civilized people superior to them who were already acquainted with their weaknesses on Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/. As Fr. Schmidt correctly pointed out (4), the

F.J. 175 636 648 466 A 175 648 466

4. "Histor. Bericht." etc., op. cit., p. 106.

Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

F.J. 175 636 648 466

/74 cont./ originally voluntary labor by the Ainu for the Japanese soon became forced labor. Needless to say, the latter, in order to be certain of their laborers, tried to keep them always in their vicinity, and /75/ hence there was assembled around the Japanese settlements a large population of dependent Ainu; whole villages were formed, while their former dwelling sites became deserted.

A 175 648 466

F.J 175 636 361

At the same time, the Japanese steadily enlarged their settlements on Sakhalin. Up to the year 1854, however, this took place only very slowly and gradually. Aside from Aniwa Bay they spread primarily along the west coast of Sakhalin from Ssiranussi northward. In the fall of 1853, when the Russians founded the Murawjof Station in the vicinity of Kussun-kotan, the Japanese had three large or chief settlements on Sakhalin, Kussun-kotan, Ssiranussi, and Endungomo (Tunai, Mauka) (1).

F.J. [113]

1. Schmidt, "Historischer Bericht," etc., op. cit., p. 105. A. D. Brylkin, "Statist. und topograph. Nachrichten über das südliche Sachalin" /Statistical and Topographical Information on Southern Sakhalin/ (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXV, p. 278).

between which, along the coast, in the Ainu villages or even separate from them, there were many sheds and warehouses for storing supplies of fish, and here and there isolated Japanese dwellings used only in summer. These houses extended to the north for a stretch beyond Endungomo; Lieutenant Rudanofskij, who traveled through southern Sakhalin from the Murawjof Station in the winter of 1853/54, found the last, northernmost house of this kind on Tokmako Bay, only a little to the north of Endungomo, and the last Japanese storehouses in Tubu, Notossam, and Paikassabussi. In that winter, by the way, the Japanese had also left Endungomo temporarily, as they were accustomed to do, because their boats were exposed to all kinds of dangers during the winter in the only slightly protected bays of this part of Sakhalin.

F.J. 175 175 648 648 464 225 A 175 175 464 648

/75 cont./

During the summer, however, an Ainu population larger than almost anywhere else on Sakhalin was concentrated around Endungomo for the Japanese fishing. Rudanofskij estimated the crowd that welcomed him upon his arrival at 300 persons in itself, but, according to the Ainu themselves, their number was said to amount to about 700 there (2). Just as Endungomo lived on

F.J. 175 636 439 443 648

2. The above information was taken from Rudanofskij's handwritten travel journal, which he kindly let me use. I do not know whether it has been published in full anywhere.

fishing, Ssiranussi lived primarily on trade. These settlements, in contrast to Kussun-kotan, where several Japanese officers were also permanently stationed, bore a different character -- that of purely fishing and trading centers. These latter interests were so essential to the Japanese on Sakhalin that their greatest fear at the time of the founding of the Murawjof Station was that the Russians might alienate the Ainu from them and through that destroy their fishing and trade there. Therefore, when this station was abandoned in May, 1854, at the outbreak of the Crimean War, the Japanese hastened to extend and to strengthen their settlements on Sakhalin as much as possible in the meantime, so that in case of the eventual return of the Russians they would have effective possession of the entire Ainu territory on the island. The most fantastic rumors concerning this Japanese expansion quickly spread, not only among the Ainu, but also among their northern neighbors, the Gilyak. When, in the winter of 1854/55, I was at the Nikolayev Station preparing for my first trip to Sakhalin, the Liman Gilyak brought me the /76/ strangest accounts concerning this: besides the true information that the Japanese were appearing in greater numbers on Sakhalin that year and had not left even for the winter, they also told me that already that summer by means of emissaries who had gone to Cape Lasaref /Lazarev/ and Tschomi, they had spied on the activities of the Russians in the

F.J. 175 G 131 175 [361] [563]

/122 cont./

Sakhalin begins to the north of the Kitosi region still inhabited by the Ainu (1). According to the pertinent map, however,

1. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 191).

the latter, with its north end, extended to Porokotan (2), and this

F.J. [114]

2. On the map to which we refer (with the inscription "Mogami Tok'nai" 1786, see above, p. 248, note 1) there is written "Torokotan," evidently only the result of a printing error or confusion between p and t on the part of the Japanese, the adjoining map, inscribed "Mamia Rinsô 1808," on which the same place is called "Porokotan," shows.

is, as we saw above (3), at the same time the Pilja-wo of the

3. See above, pp. 29, 30.

A G 131 178 563 175 A [648]

Gilyak, their last village to the south, where they already live intermixed with the Ainu. At the present time a mixed population of this kind is advancing to the north of Pilja-wo, as was explained in detail above. This may not have been the case at that time, or not to the same extent, and the two peoples concerned may have been much more distinctly separated, though mixture through marriage has always taken place. If that is true, then the entire change in the boundary situation between the Gilyak and the Ainu that has taken place there from the time of Mamia Rinso's visit to these regions to mine is only that a somewhat more pronounced or more widespread mixture of the two has occurred, probably because even then some of the Ainu fled northward to the Gilyak out of fear of the Japanese, just as happened quite notoriously later when the Japanese colonization

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[198]
[563]
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[648]

/122 cont./ began to spread rapidly (4). There are no reports at all for evaluating a possible change in the boundaries of the Gilyak area on the east coast of Sakhalin, since that part of the island was visited neither by earlier travelers nor by the two Japanese mentioned above.

4. See above, p. 154.

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In summarizing everything that has been said about the Gilyak up to now, we are able to draw the conclusion that, so far as our historical information concerning this people extends, which does not cover a very great period of time, no considerable change or shift of their habitation sites has taken place. Whether and how such might have taken place in prehistoric times, however, can only be judged as a conjecture on the basis of other facts and phenomena, which we shall discuss later.

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While we lack historical information on the Gilyak going back very far, this is by no means the case with respect to the Ainu. This is true, however, for only a part of this people, particularly those who are beyond the scope of this work. The farther they were to the south, the earlier the Ainu emerge from the darkness of the prehistoric period, according to the extent and as a consequence of their contacts with the Japanese: they were first observed on Nippon, then on Jesso /Yesso/, and, finally, on Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Since their whole area of distribution /123/ consists of islands which are separated by straits with rapid currents in part, and the Japanese only gradually spread northward from island to island, the oldest reports concerning the southern Ainu and those concerning the northern ones are far apart, and whereas the former are two and a half millenniums old, the latter go back only as many centuries. According to Siebold (1), at the time of the founding of Japan

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E.J.
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[113]

1. Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Maert. Gerr. Vries; benev. eene verhand. over de Aino-taal en de voortbrengs. der Aino-landen

Ainu ABC
Early Japan AB3

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[113]
EJ.
175
101

/123 cont./

1. (cont.)
/Geographical and Ethnographical Results from the Discoveries of M. G. Vries, with a Discussion of the Ainu Language and the Products of the Ainu Region/, Amsterdam, 1858, pp. 92, 116.

under the founder of the Mikado dynasty, Zinmu, about 660 B.C., the northern part of Nippon was inhabited by Ainu, who in the history of Japan are called "Asuma Jebisu," i.e., wild men of the east. They were settled principally in the present districts of Mutsu, Dewa, and the northern part of Jetsigo, which at that time were called "Jebisu no Kuni," the land of the wild men (2). Even in the seventh century after Christ the Ainu lived

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EJ.
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2. In Chinese history, according to Siebold (op. cit., p. 116), from whom we get this information, it is first under the Han dynasty (189 B.C. to 30 A.D.) that there is mention of the tribe of the "Mao-min" (Ainu), who lived on the opposite side of the eastern sea and had hair all over the body. Likewise, in the history of the Sui dynasty (608 to 622 A.D.) reference is made to the "Mozin" people, which consisted of 50 hordes and lived in the mountains in the northwest of the country of Woke (Japan).

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EJ.
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in the first two provinces south to 38° north latitude, but were constantly at war with the Japanese. At the beginning of the ninth century the rule of the Mikado already extended over all of Nippon; the Japanese advancing northward, however, still had to fight the Ainu constantly until the latter were finally completely subjugated and in part became amalgamated with the conquerors, in part were annihilated or driven out. Many

Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

A
E.J./123 cont./Many
175
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[167]
E.J.
[361]
A
E.J.
[177]

of those who refused to accept the yoke of the Japanese fled across the Ssangar Straits to their countrymen on Jesso. The Japanese had first reached this island in 658 under Prince Abehirafu and had founded settlements at the mouth of the Siribesi, which, however, were destroyed by the Ainu in 729 (3). Toward the end of the twelfth century (1189) the

3. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 125.

Japanese general, Jositsune, fled to Jesso and, as Siebold says (4),

4. Op. cit., pp. 126, 168.

sowed the first seeds of culture among the Ainu on the east coast. It was not until the fifteenth century (1443) (5), however, that the

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E.J.
[114]

5. Not in the fourteenth century, as Siebold, Aardr. en volk. toel., p. 93, says, in contradiction to his statement in Nippon, I, p. 126.

Ainu, and, to be sure, first those of southern Jesso, were brought under the rule of the Mikado. It is not known definitely when the Japanese, advancing northward, first crossed over to Sakhalin (Krafto), but at the beginning of the seventeenth century (1605-1622), Kinfiro, the Governor of Matsmai, had already sent out expeditions to make a map of Sakhalin, but they only advanced to Ussijam and Naritari (6) with the greatest difficulties,

F.J.
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654

F.J.
[113]

6. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso /Jeso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso/," transl. from the Japanese by Titsingh (Annales des Voyages, ed. by Malte-Brun, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 162). Likewise, obviously from the same source, Klaproth in the supplement to Rinsifée's San kokf tsou ran to sets,

/126 cont./

175 131 centuries ago, in the same place that still today forms their northern boundary along the east coast of Sakhalin. That they [648] have not spread farther to the north since then, since the seacoast north of the Gulf of Patience is still uninhabited for a long stretch, can perhaps be ascribed to the circumstance that the Japanese did not found their first settlements on Sakhalin until the end of the last century and did not extend them, as we saw above, for a long time (4), and therefore did not exert such a

4. See above, pp. 148 ff.

pronounced pressure upon the more distant Ainu as to induce them to move away farther to the north.

175 131 721 The spread of the Ainu over the Kurile Islands seems to have proceeded faster and farther in comparison. It has already been mentioned above that they had occupied all the Kurile Islands including Poromuschir /Paramushir/, the last but one coming from the south, prior to the arrival of the Russians on Kamchatka (5).

5. See above, p. 33.

Steller and Krascheninnikof state expressly that this island was inhabited by Ainu ("Kurilen"), who had come over from the island of Onekotan, /127/ and, to be sure, not as long ago as one is inclined to believe, because close ties of hospitality existed between the inhabitants of these two islands, whereas the inhabitants of the more distant islands, on the other hand, often undertook raids on Onekotan, which perhaps may have been the reason for the emigration of part of the population of this island to Poromuschir (1). The next and last of the Kurile Islands,

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1. Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, pp. 7, 23, 24; Krasheninnikov", "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh., St. Petersburg, 1818, Vol. I, pp. 145, 146).

A 175 114 101 /129 cont./

1. (cont.)
and the Eluntschun (Orok) as those of the southern part, whereas it should be the other way around.

A 101 175 [64] Similarly, The archimandrite Palladij mentions the "Kuă" (Ainu) among the peoples of Girin Province, from whom formerly, according to Chinese reports, a large tribute in sable furs was collected for the court of Peking (2). We now understand when in the Chinese

A [113]

2. Arkh. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch., chrez" Manch'zhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

imperial geography (3) the "Lerkoje" (4), or, as Pauthier (5)

A [113]

3. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Vol. XI; see Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien /Geography of Asia/, Vol. III, p. 444.

4. Ritter adds in parenthesis: "Koje of the maps."

A [113]

5. Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., géogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part 1, p. 168.

G [103] [101] writes it, "Li-eurh-kou-yé," are named, among others, among the tributary peoples of the Ssan-ssin district. They are the Sakhalin Ainu, for "Laer, Laerch," or "Laer-mif," is the Gilyak name for Sakhalin (6), and "Koje" or "Kuyé" must, after what has been said, refer to the Ainu.

G [113]

6. Middendorff, too, heard the name

G /129 cont./
103 To conclude the series of names for the island of Sakhalin occasionally mentioned above, the readily explicable, as it seems to me, etymology of the last-mentioned Gilyak name
G for this island might be considered here in passing. I believe
[192] that "Laer-mif" originated from "La-erri-mif," which, since "La" is the Gilyak name for the Amur, but "erri" means stream or river, and "mif," land, earth, is to say "Amur-River-Land" (8).

8. The Amur region itself is called "La-mif" among the Gilyak.

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[114] Hence the Gilyak name for Sakhalin has the same meaning as the one that, according to the Jesuit missionaries, those Manchu sent by Emperor Kang-hi to explore the island wanted to express with the designation /130/ "Saghalian anga hata," although this expression, according to Klaproth, is not quite correct (1).

1. See above, p. 252, note 1.

This automatically calls forth the thought as to whether the Gilyak name for the island in the form "La-erri-mif" was not translated for them.

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174 If one summarizes all that has been said about the Ainu,
648 the conclusion can be drawn that they were pushed out of the
131 southern part of their original habitation area, from Nippon, by
103 the Japanese in the historical period, and were forced to move farther north. The large mountainous island of Jesso /Yesso/ in the center of their distribution area seems above all to be the Ainu region, which they alone occupied until the arrival of the Japanese and which among them was simply called Aino /Ainu/ Island (Aino-mosiri, Ainso). From there they may have occupied the southern part of Sakhalin and the nearest of the Kurile Islands, Kunaschir and Iturup, even in ancient times; the Japanese advancing from Nippon to Jesso and beyond also
A certainly forced them to spread farther in two directions, north
174 and northeast. On Sakhalin the expansion of the Ainu seems to
184 have been more peaceful and gradual than on the Kurile Islands,
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131

SS /317 cont./ Next come the Olcha,
162 who, however, occupy only a small territory in the Amur region.
G The Goldi, certainly more numerous in their totality, are dis-
[131] persed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely rep-
[162] resented everywhere, most sparsely between the mouths of the Ussuri and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River, between the mouth of the Sungari and the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only temporarily visited by nomadic hunting peoples, except for the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Daur, and, immediately above the Bureja Mountains, by sedentary Birar.

SS In general the population situation on Sakhalin is different
162 from that on the mainland. Here the southern part, occupied
132 by Ainu, seems to have a greater population than the northern,
G Gilyak part of the island. To be sure, the southern part, washed
A on both sides by the branches of a warm current, is climatically
131 much more favorable than the northern part, which, especially
162 on its east coast toward the Sea of Okhotsk, has an extremely
132 harsh, almost polar climate, but here again the reason for this phenomenon may lie in historical and political circumstances
SS rather than in physical conditions. Warred upon and subjugated
162 by the Japanese in the southern part of their area centuries ago,
A and constantly oppressed and afflicted since then, the Ainu moved
● 648 northward more and more and found a homeland on Sakhalin,
167 where up to a few decades ago they led a free and independent
131 life, unmolested by their enemies (1). It is not surprising, then,
161

1. See above, pp. 148 ff., 256 ff.

that in the course of time their number there increased con-
SS siderably. In the northern, Gilyak part of Sakhalin, on the other
162 hand, a decrease in the population has taken place. I believe
G that I have shown on linguistic grounds that a part of the Sakhalin
131 Gilyak left the island, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the
161 Ainu, and moved to the mainland, to the lower Amur and the
648 coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (2). A more numerous Gilyak
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000 2. See p. 214 above /untranslated/.

/412 cont./

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[113]

1. (cont.)
der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 65).

[184] east coast north of Ussuro, near Esturi, etc. (2), where there are

2. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129.

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● 648

no Gilyak at all. This is not merely a consequence of the Gilyak influence upon the Ainu, as in some pieces of their clothing and elsewhere, but an act of political manifestation: as a sign that they have emancipated themselves from the rule of the Japanese and henceforth want to have nothing to do with them, they adopt the hair style of their neighbors who remained untouched by the Japanese yoke, one which they (as I suspect) -- and perhaps the tradition of it has been preserved among them -- even had themselves before they submitted to this yoke. Hence the Ainu regard the braid hanging down the neck as a symbol of freedom and independence from the Japanese. By the way, the pressure exerted by the latter on the Ainu regarding the hair style was limited to the head hair, but they did not have to cut off the beard, and, as is well known, it is extremely heavy among them, on account of which, as the Jesuit missionaries of old report (3), some of them carry a special little stick with them,

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3. For instance, Father Aloisius Froes in a letter dated 1565; see Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht., etc., p. 93. Cf. also Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 93.

T 302 171 179 [131]

/415 cont./ southern part of their habitation area, along the eastern slopes of the great Chingan Mountains, around the tributaries of the Nonni, along the Nomin, Ganj, Gujuil, etc., where they live in complete dependence on the Daur and indirectly on the Chinese (4).

4. See p. 94 above.

they also certainly share the hair style of the latter, it gradually disappears going northward, and along the upper Amur and its northern tributaries, where, /416/ in spite of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, they have actually always remained under Russian influence and Russian rule, they have also retained their original and natural hair style, with the hair completely unshorn and either simply hanging down or tied up in a bunch on the crown (1).

T [113]

1. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhitel. Amura" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., P. 296). F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslovii zemled. v" Amurskom" kraie /Essay on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region/" (Zap. dlia chteniia, izdav. k. Trubnikovym", August-December, 1869, p. 116).

A G GT SS 302 171 179 648

Thus, the way of wearing the hair among all the indigenous peoples of the Amur region is a sign of their dependence on or independence of the Manchu-Chinese, or, on Sakhalin, the Japanese. The boundary up to which the Chinese, among the Amur peoples, or on Sakhalin the Japanese, hair style extends designates at the same time the boundary of the effective rule of the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese over these peoples. It is a political, not an ethnographic border line: in the western part as well as in the eastern part of the Amur region and Sakhalin it runs across the habitation area of the peoples concerned (Orochon, Orochi, and Ainu), only at certain points separates closely related tribes (for example, the Olcha from the Samagir

A G Gi S T 302 191 199 648

/416 cont./ and Goldi), and nowhere coincides with the boundary of such fundamentally different peoples as the Gilyak on the one hand and the Amur Tungus or Ainu on the other. Inasmuch as the degree of the dependence of the Amur peoples on the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese is of the greatest importance with regard to their whole existence and lives, however, this border line is also of great ethnographic interest.

G 301 191

Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples of the Amur region more than the clothing does -- it is the adornment worn on various parts of the body.

All the natives of the Amur region, and among them the Gilyak, have the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear pendants, in common. They consist either of only a silver or copper wire bent into a ring at the upper end and wound to a spiral shape at the lower end (small earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 7), or of a silver wire bent into the shape of a large ring, on the upper and lower parts of which are strung large glass beads or circular disks of a grayish-white or greenish-white stone (jadeite) and pierced in the center (large earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 6). The men always wear only one earring in each lobe, the women, however, often two and three large pendants, sometimes several inches long, in each one, the weight of which distends the ear lobes far downward. Among Gilyak children I have occasionally seen, besides the metallic ring, a tuft of fox hair worn at the ear lobe, which may serve as protection against the cold as well as adornment. It is noteworthy that, aside from the earrings, the /417/ Gilyak, Olcha, Orok, and, as far as I know, also the Negda wear no other ornament on a head or facial part. Among the Samagir on the Gorin, the Goldi, and the Orochi, however, there is a second and similar ornament, which, to be sure, is limited to the female sex (1), among

Gi [301] Gi 301

1. Only once, quite as an exception, did Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 224) see this

1 [See Category 116, p. 1009 -- Analyst]

G /451 cont./
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172

4. (cont.)
bands either straight, wavy, and zigzag in form or in a kind of braided work.

essentially wholly similar to pieces of this type found in other regions under similar conditions, here, too, belonged to an early period so far back that it cannot be put into any ethnological relationship with the present. Nevertheless I must add here that the articles found along the Patchă River (see /452/ note 3 on p. 692) were shown to many Gilyak (1) to find out from them

1. As is expressly pointed out in the above-mentioned periodical (Vostochnoe Pomor'e) and elsewhere.

whether they still had similar tools, or any traditions referring to them -- they were completely unfamiliar to them, however.
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Lopatin questioned the Ainu and Orok in Taraika about the stone tools and potsherds found there. The latter, to be sure, declared that during the wars the Ainu had gone into hiding in the earth huts that were formerly on the sites of the present pits, but the Ainu themselves were totally unfamiliar with the stone tools. On the other hand, they told him of a legend which ascribes those objects to a people called Toissi who formerly inhabited these regions but later moved to the north. The remains of the earth huts found near Mogunkotan on the Gulf of Patience, near Cape Ssiraroro, and at other places on Sakhalin are also ascribed to them. Lopatin found this legend throughout part of southern Sakhalin through which he traveled (2).

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[192]
[114]
2. Since the alleged name of the people from whom, according to the legend, the stone tools and old potsherds are supposed to come actually only means pottery, as can be seen from the above-mentioned statement by Mamia Rinsô concerning the pottery of ("tojes'ju," i.e., earthen pans)

/453 cont./

361 133 of only a double coastal stretch running along the west and the east of the island and elongated at the southern end by its bifurcation for a considerable section. Living on the sea everywhere, the 226 262 [361] Ainu also draw from it their principal food. As among the Gilyak, this consists of fish, and, to be sure, it is again the salmon, and in part even the same species, Salmo lagocephalus and S. proteus, which play the principal role, since, entering even the small coastal rivers in large numbers, they provide the material for the preparation of the winter stores of jukola and train oil. To no less a degree, the herring that at times go along the coast in large schools and enter the bays and inlets are of the greatest significance. 226 The extraordinary abundance of fish on these coasts is, incidentally, 648 also utilized by the Japanese, and, to be sure, this happened at 464 the time of my travels in the Amur region, when southern Sakhalin was still under Japanese rule, inasmuch as, greatly to the disadvantage of the Aimu, they were forced to do the fishing for the Japanese, and while the latter, in addition to the train oil prepared on the spot of the catch, sent whole shiploads of fish to their homeland, where it was chiefly used as fertilizer for the soil, the Ainu found themselves unable to provide for their own needs by preparing a sufficient winter supply (1). Next to fish the

175 648 464 113 1. Concerning this exploitation of the Ainu by the Japanese, see pp. 152-156 above. It was no longer possible to this extent after the Japanese gave up Sakhalin by the treaty of 1875. While their fishing on the coasts of Sakhalin did not stop because of it, and, indeed, they extended it even farther northward, up to Nyi at the mouth of the Tymy, where Poljakof met them in 1881, nevertheless they no longer used the Ainu, but Japanese workers in the fishing (Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., pp. 69 ff.).

A /455 cont./
262 a little fish and oil, almost the only food (3), clearly indicates
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3. In that they are paid daily for their work with a few handfuls of rice from the Japanese.

that the Ainu are under the influence of a different culture than the Gilyak.

Gi
226 The third people on Sakhalin, the Orok, are, to be sure,
231 chiefly ichthyophagous and, as a consequence of the location of their habitation area along the seacoast, are destined to get their principal food from the sea, but the circumstance that, in addition to the dog, they keep another domestic and draft animal, the reindeer, and by means of it lead a seminomadic life, brings about a not unimportant modification of their food situation in
Gi
221 contrast to the Ainu and Gilyak. In the summer and fall, the
226 seasons of the year which the Orok spend on the seacoast to fish
262 and hunt seal and to prepare supplies for the winter, again princi-
251 pally jukola, seal oil, and various berries and roots, their food
Gi
175 consists almost exclusively of fish. Poljakof, who spent several
226 weeks during the summer of 1881 among the Orok in the region
262 around the mouth of the Tymy, which they visit annually because
264 of its wealth of fish, described their daily diet during this period of the most active fishing in the following manner: the first meal, taken early in the morning, consists of a fat salmon head (from Salmo lagocephalus); then in the course of the day jukola roasted over the fire follows, with seal oil and fish with various plant accompaniments, such as roots, cedar nuts, and especially berries, which are mixed with finely chopped or even pre-chewed (!) fish;
000 and a fat salmon head again ends the day (4). The nomadic life

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[113]

4. Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" (supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., p. 89).

Gi
262 The nomadic life
231 of the Orok and the smaller number of dogs satisfying them very
224 considerably lessen their need for winter provisions, and all the

G 492 484 /487 cont./ Just as the Gilyak on trips tries to lighten the work for his dogs during the traveling, so does he always see to it that they have the necessary relaxation and rest at night. If no village can be reached and the night must be spent in the open, he prepares a resting place for his dogs similar to the one for himself. The guide-line, detached from the sled, is tied to a tree trunk, and for each of the dogs a depression is made in the snow at suitable intervals and lined with fir branches. From these traces one can immediately see how many Gilyak sleds have stopped at a campsite and how many dogs were harnessed to each of them.

G 492 191 194 Undoubtedly the present practice of keeping dogs to harness to the sled, which is so deeply entrenched in the life of the Gilyak, is not a relatively new custom, borrowed from one of the other Amur peoples, but, on the contrary, is a custom originally peculiar to them, in contrast to the latter, reaching back into the most distant past. The situation is similar for the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples in contrast to their respective neighboring tribes: all of them, since ancient times, are or were fishermen who used their only domestic animal, the dog, chiefly for locomotion, with there being no proof of the borrowing of this custom from one of the neighboring peoples nor any reason for assuming it probable.

A 492 493 [648] Among the Ainu on Sakhalin the dog in general plays exactly the same role as among the Gilyak; even the construction of the sled, the harnessing of the dogs, and the manner in which they are treated and driven are said to be the same (1). But the Ainu do not

A [113]

1. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 1854 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 54. As I learned from Rudanofskij's manuscript diary, the above-described use of the poles /Pfiemerstangen/ on especially difficult routes is also quite common among the Ainu on Sakhalin.

G [492] [191]
A [191]

use this method of locomotion nearly as often and as extensively as the Gilyak do, the reason for which, as we shall see in the following, lies not only in the less favorable position of their country for journeys and travels by sled, but particularly in the

Ainu ABC
Kamchadal RY3
Northeast Siberia RY1

A 492 493 498

/487 cont./
oppression of Japanese domination weighing down upon them and paralyzing the general life of the people.

It is known from the detailed descriptions by Steller (2) and

K 492 493 [113]

2. Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, pp. 132 ff, 370 ff.

Krascheninnikof that the Italmen on Kamchatka since time immemorial have used dogs for traveling, for which they selected and trained the largest and strongest of them and built sleds of a peculiar form and construction. Like the Gilyak sleds, the Kamchadal sleds, too, were characterized by their extreme lightness, flexibility, and durability; /488/ but whereas the former are shallow and low, the latter had a relatively high-placed and deep sled-basket, on which the dog-driver usually sat side ways and only at times astride. Later the Russians in Kamchatka adopted this type of sled and have them even today (1). Besides them,

K [171]

K 493 171

NS 493 177 171

1. Several sleds of this type brought from Kamchatka in the previous century have been preserved in the Anthropological-ethnographic Museum of the Academy.

however, they were also, even in Steller's time, and especially for the transportation of heavier loads, using the above-mentioned long and broad-soled dog-sleds or narten (2) such as are also

2. Steller (op. cit., p. 370) calls them "narden."

customary elsewhere in Siberia. They may therefore have already been familiar with them before their arrival in Kamchatka. There is no reason to assume with Matjuschkin (3) that the Russians first

NS 492 174 177 [113]

3. Vrangel', Putesh. po siev. ber. Sibiri i po Ledov. moriu, Part II, p. 110, footnote *.

A 325 114 174 ●648 /570 cont./ According to Mamia Rinzō's Testimony, the Ainu on Sakhalin gradually lost their skill at forging iron more and more and finally practically gave it up entirely as a result, so he thinks, of being flooded with Japanese ironwork. We must add that this step backwards by the Ainu certainly had another, deeper reason, which the Japanese traveler probably would not or could not mention -- the oppressive bondage in which they found themselves in relation to the Japanese, connected with merciless exploitation by the latter, under which they were bound to sink more and more into poverty, misery, and indolence. G 174 167 648 The Gilyak of Sakhalin, on the other hand, were in a more favorable situation because of the greater distance of their sites from the Japanese. Thanks to these circumstances and, at the same time, their greater energy and intelligence, they were able to remain independent of them. Indeed, fear of the Japanese and the sad fate which had befallen their neighbors, the Ainu, may have chiefly prompted them to retreat more and more northward on Sakhalin and, finally, even to emigrate, or, in consideration of a more distant past, perhaps more correctly said, to migrate back in large part to the opposite mainland (2).

2. Concerning this emigration or migration back by the Gilyak from Sakhalin to the mainland, see pp. 214 and 247 above /untranslated/.

G 174 648 325 At any rate, the political independence which they were able to maintain on Sakhalin with regard to the Japanese and in the Amur region with regard to the Manchu-Chinese was a powerful lever for the preservation and increase of their well-being, as well as for the further development of already acquired skills, among them the art of metal forging, and all the more so the more abundantly the springs of their subsistence flowed, as was especially the case along the large and fish-rich Amur River.

Gi 325 171 Like the Ainu and Gilyak, the third people on Sakhalin, the Orok, also owed their knowledge of iron and the working of it to the Japanese, though they did not obtain it directly from

A 224 114 [192] /576 cont./ More Trustworthy and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up snares similar to those for the river otter and sable also for the musk deer (Ainu likun-kamoi), and, to be sure, in accordance with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am G A 224 inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a similar manner by the Gilyak, though I heard nothing about it among them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as rein- A [411] deer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, except that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was A 411 439 325 178 mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging skill, through barter from the Gilyak, in which those elegant lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded as Manchurian -- a view which may be maintained and encouraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however, A 224 181 433 ● 648 the Ainu are hunters even less than the Gilyak, and, to be sure, not only because they, like the latter, gain their livelihood chiefly from fishing and seal-catching, which certainly give them a meager subsistence, but also because they are too lazy and, as a consequence of the Japanese yoke burdening them, too apathetic to procure for themselves the means for a more abundant and better existence through a more active practice of hunting fur-bearing animals, easily turned to good account in trade with the Gilyak.

Gi 224 433 The situation is different for the other neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Orok. Among them the inclination for hunting peculiar to all Tungusic tribes appears in very obvious and characteristic ways. Although wedged in in small numbers between two more powerful, sedentary fishing peoples, they have remained, as was discussed above in detail, hunting nomads Gi [439] in their principal concerns and character. Hunting is absolutely necessary for their livelihood, for though they also occupy themselves for a period during the year with fishing and seal-hunting along the seashore and the mouths of the rivers, this is far from sufficient for their subsistence, and only the hunting diligently

/620 cont./

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Rinsô also heard a very similar account concerning the Sakhalin Ainu, for upon further investigation of the subject, which he undertook among "dignified men fully acquainted with the facts," four old men 70-75 years old (whose names he mentions), he learned the following. "In their youth," they related, "in Najoro there was a chief /621/ named Jajebirakan, a very hot-tempered and evil man, who had the Smerenkur and Santaner (Gilyak and Olcha) belonging to the Manchu killed when they came to trade and confiscated the trade goods that they brought with them. Some of them, however, had fortunately, escaped and took their complaints to the Manchu in Deren. In the following year three Manchu boats manned by Santaner and Smerenkur came and captured those who had participated in the atrocity, as well as some of the chiefs of the surrounding villages, because they had not come to the assistance of the unfortunate Smerenkur and Santaner. The prisoners offered to give all of their possessions as atonement, and the Manchu finally accepted this, but Jakebirakan's crime was too great to let him off with such a punishment; they therefore took his two sons with them as hostages and stipulated that the Kraftoër (Sakhalin-Ainu) would have to declare themselves subject to the Manchu and in the future deliver to them in Deren an annual tribute consisting of furs, in return for which they would receive a gift and the rest of the trade goods at moderate prices and they would be assured of protection against any mistreatment upon their arrival in Deren. From this time on, after the two sons of the chief were taken as hostages to Manchu-Tartary, it became customary for the Manchu to take along with them the sons or siblings of those who are unable to pay their debt. Since the Kraftoër now paid their tribute punctually every year, the hostages were returned and appointed harata and kasinta by the Manchu and given written directives." Rinsô saw these documents still preserved by Jajenkur, the chief of Najoro, but was unable to read them because they were written in the

[622]

A 175 648 439 622 /621 cont./ Manchu language. Rinsô continues his report, "The successors of those first harata and kasinta, accompanied by other natives, from then on annually brought the designated gifts to the officials in Deren. Even today, the most intelligent and most suitable of the natives on the island are appointed as harata and kasinta by the Manchu. Their number is now limited to eight: one harata, in Najoro, and seven kasinta, three of whom are on the west coast and four on the east coast (their names and their places of residence, which are all in the Ainu area, follow). Several years ago, because the furs on Krafto became rarer, the chiefs brought their gifts to Deren only every three years, and with an even greater decline, only every four or five years. But then the Manchu had the stipulated gifts collected by the Santaner, and, as a consequence, this year the kasinta of Usijoro, Najoro, and Raitsiska personally brought the gifts to Deren." Rinsô met these people on their journey there and asked them about the manner in which the gifts were offered. They confirmed for him that the gift consisted of a black sea-otter fur, and at the same time disclosed to him that the Manchu officials had taken it amiss that they had failed to deliver the gifts for a few years and had pointed out to them that in the future they should better appreciate the favor that they had received from the Manchu and should be more careful about bringing the stipulated gifts.

G. Gi A 175 648 439 622 /622/ It was approximately in the middle of the previous century, according to these reports, that the Manchu, who had formerly come to Sakhalin only to trade, expanded their tributary relationships with the peoples of the lower Amur region, among them the Olcha and Gilyak, to include the Sakhalin Gilyak and the Sakhalin Ainu as well, in that at various places there, too, they appointed chiefs or elders and imposed upon them the obligation of bringing to them at Deren an annual tribute of furs -- an obligation which, to be sure, was not always punctually observed, but was still in full force in Mamia Rinsô's time. A few facts noted by European travelers may be cited to confirm these statements, quite credible in themselves, by the, as already noted several times above, extremely accurate and reliable Japanese travelers.

G. Gi A [114]

2: Schrenck--976 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6

/622 cont./

000 G 175 648 622 292

and reliable Japanese traveler. Krusenstern (1), for instance,

1. Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 176.

reported that when he met the Gilyak ("Tatars") in Nadeshda Bay, near the northern tip of Sakhalin (1805) -- as was pointed out above (p. 467), it was probably in the village of Ngywr-wo -- one of them was distinguished from the rest by his clothing, which was a red silk robe of Chinese cut, with gold flowers interwoven in it, and "without doubt" was their chief -- evidently, therefore, one of those harata or kasinta appointed by the Manchu and mentioned by Mamia Rinsô. Of far greater importance, however, is a second, very definite sounding report which we owe to Fr. Schmidt (2). In 1860, in Najoro, he

A 175 648 622

2. "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 94.

became acquainted with one of the most distinguished Ainu, the aged Ssetakurero, upon whom, as an Ainu elder, the Japanese had conferred a saber. He still had in his keeping a document written in the Manchu language, which his father had received at one time from the Manchu superiors on the occasion of a tribute journey to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, and through which he was appointed an elder of the Ainu. By means of this report the accuracy of Mamia Rinsô's statements concerning the tributary obligations of the Ainu to the Manchu at that time and the manner in which they had to be met is placed beyond any doubt. But I cannot refrain from expressing the conjecture that on the basis of the above report there was some misunderstanding on the part of the reporter or the listener with regard to the place to which Ssetakurero's father made his tribute journey, in that this journey was not made to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, but, as must be assumed from the dates, to Deren on the Amur. Such a misunderstanding could arise all the more easily since Ssetakurero, according to his own words, had himself never been in Manchu country.

A 175 114 648

SS G Gi 648 178 439 /622 cont./

Let us now compare the conditions described by Mamia Rinsô with the position that the Manchu-Chinese occupied in relation to the indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region half a century later at the time of my visit. This has already been discussed in the foregoing on various occasions, and therefore I shall now only recapitulate /623/ briefly the principal features of it to make comparison easier. At the time of my visit, the Manchu or Chinese no longer made any trade journeys to Sakhalin at all (1). An obligation for the payment of tribute by the Sakhalin

A [648] A G [622]

1. Also, the above-mentioned Ssetakurero questioned by Mr. Schmidt could not remember having seen Manchu about (in Najoro); it was always only "Ssanta" (Olcha) or "Ssumeri" (Gilyak) who came there for trade purposes (Schmidt, op. cit., p. 94).

Ainu and Sakhalin Gilyak to the Manchu likewise did not exist, and thus there were none of those appointed chiefs or elders among them. Almost the same situation prevailed with regard to the Amur Gilyak and Olcha: the former were visited neither by the Manchu nor by Chinese merchants; among the latter, to be sure, Chinese traders stayed here and there, but they carried on their business entirely by their own hands, and a tribute, or, more accurately, a specific assessment in furs, was collected from the one as from the other only in Ssan-ssin for the granting of permission to trade. The Goldi, on the other hand, were required to pay tribute to the Manchu-Chinese authorities, and in their territory, in Mylki near the mouth of the Gorin, there was a permanent residence for Manchu officials who were entrusted to collect the tribute. From this comparison it must be concluded that in the period between Mamia Rinsô's travels in the Amur region and mine a retreat of the Manchu-Chinese control from Sakhalin and the lowermost course of the Amur, from the territories of the Ainu, Gilyak, and Olcha, had taken place.

Gi 178 439 648

SS 174 648 439 178